DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 329 439 SO 019 702

AUTHOR Claussen, Bernhard, Ed.
TITLE RCPE (Research Committee on Political Education Bulletin). No. 14-16, 1986.
INSTITUTION International Political Science Association, Brussels (Belgium).
REPORT NO ISSN-1011-162X
PUB DATE Apr 88
NOTE 63p.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT RCPE Bulletin; n14-16 1986

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Curriculum Enrichment; Fantasy; *Fascism; Foreign Countries; Organization Size (Groups); Participant Characteristics; *Political Science; *Political Socialization; Social Studies; *Youth
IDENTIFIERS *Europe; Italy

ABSTRACT

This bulletin, produced by Research Committee on Political Education (RCPE), contains three articles, two conference reports, book reviews, and membership information. "Fantasy and Vengeance: Observations on the Origins of Right-Wing Violence in Italy and in the United States" (L. Weinberg) examines the rise of neo-fascism in Italy and the United States and the formation of the U.S. group known as The Order of Brotherhood. Weinberg discusses the influence of fantasy fiction, written by William Pierce and J. R. R. Tolkien, on these organizations and compares the characteristics of Italians and U.S. citizens drawn to these groups. "The Political Socialization of Youth" (L. Boros; L. Keri) discusses this phenomena through social background, the internal processes, formal reinforcements, generational contradictions, and autonomy. "Proposals Concerning International Cooperation in the Field of Political Education" (H. Hooghoff) offers suggestions to improve the status and quality of political studies in Europe. The two conference reports contain a list of the four panels and 29 papers presented at the 1987 International Congress on Political Education (Villahermosa, Tabasco, Mexico) and 20 papers from the 1987 RCPE International Round Table Conference (Cologne, West Germany). (DJC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED329439

RCPE RESEARCH COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
IPSA INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

RCPE
BULLETIN
14-15-16/1986

April 1988

ISSN 1011-162X

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
BERNHARD CLAYBEN
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

SO 019 702

RCPE RESEARCH COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
IPSA INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD:

Chairman
Bernhard Claussen (F.R.G.)

First Co-Chairperson
Suna Kili (Turkey)

Second and Third Co-Chairpersons
Artur Bodnar (Poland)
Marshall Conley (Canada)

Additional Members
Vladimir Kazimirtschuk (USSR)
Carlos A. Torres (Argentina)
Vijay Laxmi Pandit (India)
Gunnel Gustafsson (Sweden)
Klaus Wasmund (F.R.G.)
Anna Melich (Switzerland)
David L. Paletz (USA)

Secretary/Editor
Bernhard Claussen
c/o Dept. of Political Education
University of Hamburg
Von-Melle-Park 8
D-2000 Hamburg 13
F.R.G.

INDEX

Editorial 5

Articles 7

Fantasy and Vengeance: Observations on the Origins of Right-Wing Violence in Italy and in the United States
by *Leonard Weinberg* 7

The Political Socialization of Youth
by *László Boros and László Kéri* 20

Proposals Concerning International Cooperation in the Field of Political Education
by *Hans Hooghoff* 39

Conference and Congress Matters 45

Economic-Financial Crisis, Educational Policy and National Identity - An International Congress on Political Education
by *Marshall W. Conley* 45

Political Socialization of the Young in East and West - Report of an International Round Table Conference
by *Vijay Laxmi Pandit* 48

Contribution of the Research Committee on Political Education to the Fourteenth World Congress of IPSA (Washington, D.C., USA: August 28, - September 1, 1988) 53

Coming International Round Table Conference and Call for Papers 57

Book Corner 59

Reviews 59

New Books 61

Membership Topics 63

Alterations to the Directory of RCPE Members and of Persons Interested in the RCPE
by *Bernhard Claussen* 63

Next Meeting of RCPE Mambers and the
RCPE Executive Board 66

Notice 66

EDITORIAL
by *Bernhard Claussen*

For technical reasons, this edition of the 'RCPE Bulletin' has been published slightly later than originally scheduled. As a result and also owing to the unusual length, it is a 'triple issue'.

The 'RCPE Bulletin' has meanwhile advanced to the status of an official journal. The International Standard Serial Number (ISSN), conferrred by the International Centre for the Registration of Serials, Paris, is the most visible proof. The layout also - hopefully - meets some of the major requirements of a serious and demanding scientific periodical. Admittedly improvements can still be made, however, until the payment of all membership fees and some generous donations have been made, the necessary funds will be lacking ... Moreover all RCPE members and all those interested in the work of the RCPE are cordially invited to contribute to future issues of the journal: scientific articles on questions concerning political education and political socialization, open discussions, book reviewes, book tips, changes of addresses and conference events are always most welcome.

RCPE activities have ondergone continual growth over the past months. This is not only reflected in the increase in the number of official and inofficial members, but also in the organisation of two international meetings of quite considerable scientific standard (see the reports in this issue). The outcome will be published this year; the papers presented to the IPSA Congress Paris 1985 will appear in book form very shortly.

The program of events at this year's IPSA Congress in Washington is published in this issue. Special reference is also made to the next International Round Table Conference (Budapest, Hungary, December 1988). Further conferences are in preparation, and notification will be given in due course.

The cloumn 'Membership Topics' deserves your particular attention this time - careful perusal is strongly recommended!

The next issue - probably a 'double edition' due to the size - is scheduled to appear shortly after the IPSA Congress and before the Budapest International Round Table Conference.

The Editor and Chairman hopes to see many readers of the 'RCPE Bulletin' in Washington. So until then, all the best and sincere thanks to all those, who (by means of theirpleasant cooperation) have contributed, still contribute and will continue to contribute towards the success of our joint work.

Articles

FANTASY AND VENGEANCE: OBSERVATIONS ON THE ORIGINS OF RIGHT-WING VIOLENCE IN ITALY AND IN THE UNITED STATES

by *Leonard Weinberg*

One of the ways by which the fascist tradition in politics may be distinguished from the communist concerns the role of sacred texts. However physically or temporally distant from one another, communists are bound together by their formal adherence to the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. For a long time, the extent to which the actual behavior of communist movements and regimes conform to or deviate from these texts has been a subject of investigation for scholars as well as a source of dispute among communist leaders and theoreticians.

By contrast, neither the writings of Mussolini nor Hitler enjoy a comparable status among fascists, old or new. Yet to say this is not to deny, as some have, that fascism lacks an authentic intellectual or even literary tradition. In fact, there was an impressive number of serious European writers and intellectuals who were drawn to the fascist movements of the 1920's and 30's (1). No doubt the reasons for this affinity were various and the themes expressed in the writings of these fascist men of letters articulated equally various points of view. Nonetheless, it seems to me that we can detect one story that recurs in the works or is exemplified in the lives of fascist intellectuals during this era. It is a fable in which a hero - D'Annunzio, Maurras, Primo de Rivera, Cordreannu - is confronted by a world of corruption and injustice. Modern forms of economic and political organization or the relations among ethnic groups or nations are arranged in such a way as to pervert the natural order of things. The perversion may be the result of a conspiracy, usually of Jewish origins, or more impersonal forces. The hero, along with a small band of admirers, embarks on an adventure aimed at overcoming the corruption and injustice he sees around him (2). This story would seem to have more in common with a fairy tale than the theory of surplus value, another story of injustice, but is no less powerful as a result.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the relevance of the fascist fable for contemporary violent rightist groups. In particular, our concern is with a small American band known as the Order or Brotherhood whose members believed they could achieve the racial purification of the United States by means of violent revolution and with the more numerous adherents of Italian neo-fascist terrorist groups - the Popular Revolutionary Movement, Third Position, and the Nuclei of Armed Revolutionaries - who sought vengeance against Italy's economic and political order by means of 'armed spontaneity.'

Behaviorally, the groups had in common the fact that they carried out a series of assaults, murders (some committed against members of their own organizations) and bank robberies during the late 1970's and early 1980's (3). Let us begin by reviewing these groups' origins.

Neo-Fascist terrorism has been a feature of Italian political life beginning from 1969. In response to an outbreak of mass student and worker protest of the 1968-69 period, a number of neo-fascist groups - the New Order, National Vangvard, National Front, Mussolini Action Squads - committed a series of terrorist attacks, over the next half dozen years. Identified as part of the 'strategy of tensions' by Italian journalists, these attacks, which included anonymous bombings of public places, were intended to achieve a clear political objective. The attacks along with the 'strategy' of which they were a part were aimed at promoting the overthrow of Italian democracy through a seizure of power by neo-fascist collaborators within the police and military establishments (4). The neo-fascists and their well-wishers assumed that if a sufficiently high level of tension could be maintained throughout Italy, with the democratic state appearing powerless to deal with the violence, and if the public would come to see left-wing student and worker organizations as responsible for most of the turmoil, the conditions would exist for a coup d'etat. From the neo-fascist perspective this sequence of events and those events that would follow the conquest of power would free Italy from the threat of a growing communist movement and restore respect for the rapidly corroding sources of traditional authority - family, church and nation - in Italian society.

In retrospect this scheme appears no doubt farfetched particularly to foreign observers. On the other hand, press accounts during this period refer to the overthrow of Greek and Chilean democracies by the military under circumstances that bore at least some resemblance to conditions in Italy during the first half of the 1970's. Furthermore, several prominent military and intelligence officers began to appear as candidates of the country's neo-fascist parliamentary political party, the Italian Social Movement. And, finally, there were at least two occasions on which the extra-parliamentary neo-fascist organizations actually attempted to carry out such a coup. The first attempt occurred in 1970 and was led by Prince Valerio Borghese, a military hero of Mussolini's Social Republic, who had become leader of the National Front in 1969. The second effort was made in 1974 and was organized under the auspices of the 'Rosa dei Venti', a group representing the leaders of several neo-fascist bands. Both projects ended in failure. The authorities uncovered the schemes, dissolved those neo-fascist groups implicated in devising them and managed to arrest many, though not all, their leaders, supporters and followers. In short, by the mid-1970's these original neo-fascist terrorist groups along with their authoritarian political designs were washed up.

Unfortunately, these developments did not bring an end to neo-fascist terrorism in Italy. The second half ot the 1970's and the early years of the present decade were characterized by the formation of a new second generation of violent neo-fascist groups. And it is these organizations that are of particular interest to us.

The Popular Revolutionary Movement, Third Position and the Nuclei of Armed Revolutionaries were formed in 1977 and after (5). And although they were able subsequently to put down roots and carry out operations in several parts of Italy their origins were in Rome, and more specifically still, certain neighborhoods within that city. Many though far from all their adherents were former members of the Italian Social Movement's youth and student organizations: individuals who had grown tired of the talk and compromise associated with the activities of a parliamentary political party. These new groups were led by a handful of charismatic, for want of a better word, men: notably, Paolo Signorelli, a Roman philosophy teacher, and Valerio Fioravanti, an ex-student.

These second generation groups were distinguished from their predecessors in a number of ways. First, and most obviously, their goals appear far less realistic than those of the New Order, National Vanguard and the others. While the latter had an all too plausible scheme to bring about the collapse of Italian democracy, members of the new groups possessed no such concrete plans. They were opposed to 'imperialism', both American and Soviet, multinational corporations, and indeed the entire mundane world of commercial civilization which they identified with the Jewish-dominated United States; it was a world, in short, from which they sought escape. Closer at hand, they perceived the Italian state to be a corrupt expression of an equally corrupt bourgeois society. Accordingly, they sought not a coup de'etat as a means to strengthen the state against communist subversion, but instead wanted to 'disarticulate' it in alliance with all those forces in Italy, including leftist ones, seeking to foment revolution: 'one goal, one struggle' became a motto.

In addition to these themes, the public statements of the second generation neo-fascist groups gave voice to more 'spiritual' concerns. In particular, the statements abound with approving references to such ideas as the Japanese code of Bushido, the Islamic concept of Jihad (kind things are said about the Japanese novelist Mishima and the Palestinian leader George Habash), the Legionnaire spirit and the figure of the Holy Warrior (6). What seems to bind these different notions together is their common emphasis on the value of self-sacrifice in the heroic pursuit of a perhaps hopeless higher ideal. Related to these statements there is also an emphasis on the worth of violent struggle for its own sake, with violence to be used not as a means to attain concrete political

objectives but as an end, a process for the administration of therapy to the holy warriors themselves.

Despite their differences with the first generation of neo-fascist terrorists, the second wave met the same fate as their predecessors. By the end of 1982, and after a series of robberies and murders, the groups were themselves 'disarticulated' by the Italian authorities with most of their members arrested or fleeing into exile.

In 1984, about two years after the last of these neo-fascist groups were repressed, a new American one, the Order, issued a 'Declaration of War' and embarked on a similar path towards right-wing revolution. And as with its Italian counterprarts, the Order's terrorist activities, carried out by its Aryan Warriors, appear to have been inspired by equally "spiritual" motives. In fact, the Order's origins are religious. Robert Jay Mathews, its founder, and most of its members earlier had been congregants of the Aryan Nations Church of Hayden Lake, Idaho. The Church was one of several in the United States that adheres to Identity theology. This doctrine, first formulated in the 1940's by a former Klu Klux Klan organizer, maintains that Christ was an Aryan not a Jew. Anglo-Saxons are said to be among the lost tribes of Israel and inter alia the United States is the promised land reserved for the Anglo-Saxon race. Jews, on the other hand, are the children of Satan whose destruction is prophesized in the Bible. For some believers in the doctrine 'Mein Kampf' is elevated to biblical status and its author assigned a sacred role (7).

The Order was one of several violent groups that have subscribed to the Identity theology. The Posse Comitatus and the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord also have attracted substantial attention recently from the mass media and the FBI as a result of their stockpiling of weapons and not infrequent exhibitions of propaganda by deed.

Aside from the anti-Semitic theology and a commitment to the use of terrorist violence, one of the characteristics of the Order and the other Identity-related groups is a conspiratorial interpretation of American politics. In particular, the groups' advocates see the United States as having fallen under the control of ZOG, or Zionist Occupation Government. Concomitantly, all important economic and political decisions in the country are made by Jews and their covert supporters. The apocolyptic purpose of the Order was to overthrow ZOG and thereby restore tha Anglo-Saxon race to its rightful place in the world.

To implement this revolutionary plan, members of the Order drew up a list of American political leaders they intended to assassinate, and actually carried out a number of violent deeds, including several murders and a bank robbery. As a result of these activities most members of the Order were

arrested in 1985 and subsequently tried and convicted for criminal conspiracy associated with the various violent attacks they committed in pursuit of it.

What did these violent and vengeance - seeking American and Italian groups have in common? Perhaps the most striking thing is the fact they derived a good deal of their inspiration from works of fiction.

In the case of the Order it was an utopian fantasy set in the immediate future. 'The Turner Diaries', the work of William Pierce, a former physics professor who published it under a pseudonym, describes the adventures of Earl Turner (8). The protagonist, an unmarried and middle-aged electrical engineer from Los Angeles, begins his chronicle in 1991, eight years before the revolutionaries achieve their success and usher in the New Era. Turner's Diaries contain a description of how he and other Anglo-Saxon members of his brotherhood use a mounting series of violent measures, ultimately involving the use of nuclear weapons, to purge the United States and Canada of their Jewish populations. Eventually Israel, the world center of the conspiracy, is also destroyed to prevent a revival of satanic Jewish activity.

As a work of fiction 'The Turner Diaries' is not a great achievement. Its characters are depicted in a wooden and superficial way, and the writing approximates the style that might be found in a script for a popular television series. Nonetheless the story offers an account of how a small band of men oppressed by the FBI and other government agencies is able to win popular support, at least among America's victimized white population, initially through the commission of various acts of low-level political terrorism. And although Turner, the protagonist, is killed before the racial revolution succeeds, the novel nevertheless provides an account of how a small band of racists can overcome great odds, right an historic injustice, and achieve the restoration of Anglo-Saxon dominance in the United States.

In many cases showing a link between a particular piece of writing, fictional or philosophical, and the activities of political actors is a difficult undertaking. For example, historians have been arguing over which French or English writers influenced America's Founding Fathers for a very long time, apparently without resolving their disagreements. In this instance, however, the evidence is unambiguous. Mathews and the other founding members of the Order modeled their organization and its subsequent performance after the events portrayed in the novel (9).

There seems little doubt the author of 'The Turner Diaries' was pleased by the effort to transform his fantasy into reality, if not by its outcome. The author whose fiction provided inspiration for the second generation of Italian neo-fascists

groups would not have been honored had he become aware of his work's influence. And while Pierce's novel is at best pulp fiction, the work of J. R. R. Tolkien is one of the major bodies of fantasy writing produced in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, the evidence is persuasive that Italian translations of 'Hobbit' and the 'Lord of the Rings' trilogy were read by and affected the behavior of this group of neo-fascist terrorists. As one imprisoned member of the earlier generation put it, they had developed a 'Tolkien mania'.

The Italian political scientist Marco Revelli traces the formation of the second wave neo-fascist groups to the summer of 1977 and to a meeting attended by some 3000 members of the Italian Social Movement's youth organization at Camp Hobbit (10). This gathering at Camp Hobbit was prompted by its organizers' belief that the Italian radical right had reached a dead end. The movement needed a new broader focus, a new world-view, which could be used to attract youth, from varying backgrounds, to the neo-fascist cause. But why the interest in Tolkien?

The answer is that Italian young people were perceived to be skeptical of modern technology and the idea of scientific progress, hostile towards the use of nuclear power and sympathetic to efforts at environmental protection. In this context, 'Hobbit' and 'Lord of the Rings' offer a bucolic fantasy, an imaginary world set in the distant past before the advent of industrial civilization. For a neo-fascist movement that had been attracted to the concept of tradition and the idea of an organic community, Tolkien's imaginary world had quite a bit to offer. Better still, Middle Earth abounds with heroes and villians, adventures and quests, where good triumphs over evil. Furthermore, it is a world in which there is a restoration of authority and other after a climactic struggle (11). Also, the emphasis on personal heroism was one that the neo-fascists found particularly appealing.

Aside from their vastly different qualities as literary projects the works of Piece and Tolkien nonetheless have certain obvious things in common. Neither work is set in the oppressive present. Both authors invent worlds in which a small band of heroes, from quite ordinary backgrounds, engage in struggle involving the use of violence against conspiratorial or magic-possessing enemies to correct injustice and recreate the natural order of things. The Relations between men and women or males and females are not central to the stories. And in both instances the natural order does not include the principles of modern democracy. In short, we have themes that conform to the classic fascist story suggested at the beginning of this paper.

What sorts of people are not only attracted to such imagery but also seek to define themselves and their behaviour in terms of these fantasies? Or, who were the members of the American Order

and the second generation neo-fascist groups active in Italy? To answer these questions biographical information was obtained concerning the characteristics of most members of these violent organizations. In the Italian case biographical data were recorded from newspaper accounts and court records for individuals who were either arrested or publicly identified as members of the Popular Revolutionary Movement, Third Position and the Nuclei of Armed Revolutionaries or related bands between 1977 and 1984 (12). Information about the backgrounds of the Order membership was obtained from comparable sources available in the United States (13). Although the number of attributes is limited in both cases, this limitation is offset at least somewhat by the fact the data are not based on a sample but reflect the attributes of almost the complete memberships of the relevant groups. It is conceivable, however, that some individuals who should have been included escaped the notice of the authorities and that some of the Italians included were innocent of the charges brought against them.

The characteristics of the 279 Italian neo-fascist terrorists are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Some Biographical Characteristics of Members of Italian Neo-Fascist Terrorist Croups - 1977 - 1984

Age at Time of Arrest or Identification

15 through 19	76	(28.6%)
20 through 24	124	(46.6%)
25 through 29	37	(13.9%)
30 and above	29	(10.0%)
	266	(100%) missing = 13 mean = 23

Sex

Male	250	(89.6%)
Female	29	(10.4%)
	279	(100.0%)

Place of Birth (Region)

North	30	(15.4%)
Center	8	(4.1%)
Rome	127	(65.1%)
South	25	(12.8%)
Foreign Born	5	(2.6%)
	195	(100.0%)

Place of Birth (Size of Community)

Small community	(under 100,000)	23	(11.3%)
Medium City	(100,000 to 1 million)	42	(20.7%)
Big City	(over 1 million)	133	(65.5%)
Foreign Born		203	(100.0%)

Place of Residence (Region)

North	33	(11.9%)
Center	7	(2.5%)
Rome	231	(83.1%)
South	6	(2.2%)
Foreign	1	(.4%)
	278	(100.0%)

Place of Residence (Size of Community)

Small Community	(under 100,000)	10	(3.6%)
Medium City	(100,000 to 1 million)	27	(9.7%)
Big City	(over 1 million)	241	(86.4%)
Foreign		279	(100.0%)

Related to Other Tertorists

Yes	29	(10.4%)
No	250	(89.6%)
	29	(100.0%)

Nature of Relationship

Marital	6	(20.7%)
Sibling	17	(58.6%)
Parental	4	(13.8%)
Other	2	(6.9%)
	29	(100.0%)

Occupation

Subproletarian	4	(5.9%)
Student	11	(16.2%)
Worker	5	(7.4%)
Police, Military	11	(16.2%)
Clerk	7	(10.3%)
Salesman, Shopkeeper	8	(11.8%)
Teacher	6	(8.8%)
Free Professional	11	(16.2%)
Aristocrat, Business Manager	5	(7.4%)
	68	(100.0%)

Role in Organization

Supporter	110	(39.4%)
Regular	152	(54.5%)
Leader	17	(6.1%)
	279	(100.0%)

Organizational Membership

Popular Revolutionary Movement and Other Bands	37	(13%)
Third Position	148	(53%)
Nuclei of Armed Revolutionaries	94	(34%)

It is clear that we are dealing with a predominantly young and overwhelmingly male population. And although the finding is not reported in the table, gender was related to the roles individuals played within the organizations. Among the 17 reported neo-fascist leaders only one (the daughter of a Roman policeman) was a woman. In terms of both their places of birth and adult residence, it is also clear that the neo-fascists were a largely urban and Rome-centered group. Interestingly, a little over 10 percent of the neo-fascists had family ties to other members of the groups. Here the predominant form of relationship was that of siblings, one likely involving brothers attracting each other into neo-fascist violence. So far as their occupational backgrounds are concerned, the neo-fascists do not appear as a group to have been drawn from the lower strata of Italian society. Few of those individuals for whom information was obtained had held blue collar jobs or emerged from backgrounds in common criminality or other forms of hand-to-mouth street activity. Instead, we are dealing with people who tended to hold white collar positions including teachers, clerks, salesmen, shopkeepers, professionals (lawyers, journalists, doctors), and even some who occupied upper class positions as business managers or aristocrats. Students are

well represented too, and given the group's age distribution, the figures recorded in the table are likely an underestimate. There were also a fair number of neo-fascists with backgrounds in the police or military forces, that is men trained in the use of violence.

The volume of information concerning their previous political experiences is not substantial. Many members lacked any such experiences. But for those individuals where information was reported, the picture that emerges is that of people who either themselves or whose parents had commitments to right-wing politics before becoming involved in neo-fascist violence, experiences usually involving membership in followed by disaffection from the Italian Social Movement. There were hardly any individuals who drifted into neo-fascist violence after involvements with political parties or groups at the left or center of the Italian political spectrum.

The order was composed of a much smaller number of individuals than the Italian groups, if we take these in the aggregate. And, unfortunately, the amount of biographical information that was obtained in this instance is very limited. However, there is enough of it to make some description and comparison worthwhile.

As may be seen from the figures recorded in Table 2, the Order was composed of a much older collection of people than the Italian neo-fascist groups. The band's average age was 36 and none of its members were under the age of 20 at the time of their arrest or identification. In this case we are dealing with a relatively unusual phenomenon: middle-aged terrorists. The ages of the individuals identified as the Order's leaders were somewhat below the mean (also unusual for a terrorist group) but they were, nevertheless, either in their late 20s or early 30s. As with its Italian counterparts, the Order was an overwhelmingly male organization. Its 2 women members played subsidiary roles and were apparently caught up in the group as the result of their being the wife and girlfriend of men who were already involved in its activities.

Table 2: Some Biographical Characteristics of Members of the Order

Age at Time of Arrest or Identification

15 through 19	0	(0.0%)	
20 through 24	3	(14.3%)	
25 through 29	4	(19.0%)	
30 through 34	5	(23.8%)	
35 and above	9	(42.9%)	
	21	(100.0%)	mean = 36

Sex

Male	23	(92.0%)
Female	2	(8.0%)

Hometown (Region)

East	3	(17.6%)
South	2	(11.7%)
Midwest	1	(6.9%)
West	11	(64.7%)

Hometown (Size of Community)

Small Community	10	(58.8%)
Medium City	3	(17.6%)
Big City	4	(100.0%)

Role in Organization

Leader	4	(16.0%)
Regular	21	(84.0%)
	25	(100.0%)

Although the hometowns of a handful of members were reported to have been big crities, Philadelphia and Los Angeles in particular, the Order membership to a significant extent was drawn from small towns or medium sized cities located in the American West (e.g., Spokane, Washington, Boise, Idaho, White Fish, Montana, Salinas, California). To that extent it was unlike the heavily urban-based composition of the Italian neo-fascist bands.

Likewise, and although the evidence is admitedly skimpy, the Order members seem to have been less educated and to have held lower status jobs compared to the Italian neo-fascists. One member was an electrical enginer and another the son of a wealthy and politically prominent family (the grandson of a state senator). But these individuls were the exceptions. None of the other members was reported to have attended a university. The experience they had in common was affiliation with the Aryan Nations church.

A point that is worth emphasizing is this: despite their differences both the American and Italian groups were essentially male bands. This is not true of terrorist groups in general. Left-wing terrorist organizations active recently in

the United States and Italy, The Symbionese Liberation Army, Red Brigades, Front Line among others, had a significant female presence. Further, the role of women in these organizations was not confined to the supportive or subsidiary but included leadership positions as well. In this respect, the groups with which we are concerned appear more like the paramilitary units with which the original fascist movements were identified than they do contemporary, ideologically-motivated terrorist organizations.

Most men seem to enjoy stories of adventure and personal heroism. From the works of Homer to those of Steven Spielberg Western civilization abounds with such popular tales. But why was there such a violent response by these American and Italian radical rightists to these particular stories of Pierce and Tolkien? One answer may be that the fables did not make these men violent but only provided a kind of guidance through fantasy in pursuing their goals of power through vengeance. Associated with the guidance offered in these instances was the enormous chasm that existed between the ostensible aim, toppling the governments of Italy and the United States, and the means at the disposal of these individuals necessary to achieve the goal. The stories seem to have provided a means, albeit an imaginary one, with which to cross it.

Notes

(1) Alastair Hamilton, The Appeal of Fascism (New York: Avon Books, 1971).

(2) For an argument along these lines see, Zeev Sternhell, 'Fascist Ideology', in Walter Laqueur (ed.), Fascism: A Reader's Guide (Berkley: University of California Press, 1976) pp. 320-337.

(3) For the Order see United States of America v. Bruce Carroll Pierce and Others, Second Superseding Indictment, U.S. District of Washington at Seattle, No. CR85-001M, July, 1985. A description of the violent acts committed by the Italian groups may be found in Rosario Minna, 'Il terrorismo di destra', in Donatella della Porta (ed.), Terrorismi in Italia (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984) pp. 61-72.

(4) Daniele Barbieri, Angenda Nera (Rome: Coines Edizioni, 1976) pp. 145-151.

(5) Giancarlo Capaldo et al., 'L'eversione de destra a Roma dal'77 ad oggi: spunti per una ricostruzione del fenomeno', Questione Guistizia 2:4 (1983) pp. 939-979.

(6) Franco Ferraresi (ed.), La destra radicale (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1984) pp. 78-96.

(7) For accounts see The Populist Party: The Politics of Right-Wing Extremism (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1985); The American Farmer and The Extremists (New York: Anti-Defamation League, n.d.), and 'Violence on The Right', Newsweek (March 4, 1985) pp. 23-26.

(8) Andrew Macdonald, The Turner Diaries (Arlington, Virginia: National Vanguard Books, 1978).

(9) Newsweek op. cit., p. 23.

(10) Marco Revelli, 'La nuova destra', in Ferraresi (ed.), op. cit p. 119; see also Thomas Sheehan, 'Italy: Terror on the Right', The New York Review of Books 27:21 & 22 (1981) pp. 23-26.

(11) Alessandro Portelli, 'Tradizione e meta-tradizione: appunti su 'Il signore degli anelli', in Guide Quazza (ed.), Fascismo oggi: nuova destra e cultura reazionaria negli anni ottanta (Cuneo: Istituto Storico della Resistenza, 1983) pp. 287-310.

(12) For the Italian groups information was obtained from two national circulation newspapers La Stampa and La Repubblica (1977-1984); and Francesco Amato, Guidice Istruttore, Ordinanza/Sentenza N/1067/79, Tribunale di Roma.

(13) For the Order biographical information was obtained from, The United States of America v. Bruce Carroll Pierce and Others op. cit.; and the following newspapers, the Rocky Mountain Times (April 16 and November 3, 1985), Idaho Statesman (Aapril 17 and 19, 1985), The Seattle Times (September 30, 1985), and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer (October 1, 1985).

THE POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH

by *László Boros and László Kéri*

1. About the Definition of Political Socialization

Socialization is an overall social process embracing the individual's whole life from birth to death. However, in its social context, it is a system of permanently changing extent, function and structure, and political socialization is its inseparable part that is to be interpreted independently. The system's primary elements are the social objects or agents having the function of influence interlinked with the subjects, the people, representing the other party in this relationship who are always facing the society with their whole personality. This basic relation underlies the various and changing secondary elements of the system. The key-problem of interpretation concerning the connection between primary elements is: what kind of relationship is there between objects and people.

Our stand-point in this question is that the process of socialization is not consisted of the simple chain of a certain external activity (influencing activity) and the subject's passive reaction. This a more complex phenomenon. The essence of socialization is the permanent conflict situation between external activity and that of the individual. This is a natural state of man as a human being. This is why we call our concept on socialization a conflict-interactive model. As a result of the socialization process the consciousness of the individual appears, develops and takes shape as the prevailing actual personality.

The category of political socialization is a scientific abstraction that itself cannot be seized empirically. As an existing, actual system of objectivation, it is the overall process of socialization we are approaching. In the category-system of social science research the particular outcome of political socialization as a partial process may be characterized by the notion of political mind. Approaching the question from this side, it is not again the political mind but the personality functioning as a homogenous totality that can be investigated, since our mind in the most general sense is nothing else but an active relationship between the individual and his natural-social environment. In this permanent contact, human reactions, the motivating contents of mind and the elements of the process establishing them can be primarily examined in the actual research. On the other hand, the objective or objectivated elements of the social environment (the other part of the relationship) can be empirically investigated. Also the role of these objects played in this relationship should be revealed.

In the case of political socialization our preferred object is the political system. It may be considered as one of the most important sub-systems of society that has undergone significant changes concerning its extent and functions in the latest large period of historical development. It is well known that there are many opinions and approaches concerning it in recent literature of social sciences, the majority of which differs from one another not only in partial elements. These are efforts to exploit more, definitely different views for petty end. All of them were carefully examined in respect of their overall notions and the utilization of their partial elements. As a result, the idea of political system adjusted along politics as a sphere of activity became the basis of our theory. In this context politics - interpreted as the arena of social activity - is historically postulated in its every element. Social institutions, means and methods around it (embodying the whole dimension) are parts of the political system as far as their functioning is conscientiously aimed at the expression of real (and historically conditioned) social articulation in the form of interest relations. This articulation should not be understood strictly in the macro-structural sense. As a matter of fact, politically relevan social inequalities are directly manifested in conflicts within and between micro-communities. The ability of broadly interpreted political institutional systems to express interests on a local or macro-social level will decide what should appear in the 'higher' dimensions of the political mechanism as definitely 'political'.

This exceedingly mobile system is the object, and we may perceive the continuous relation to it as the political mind. The process having the features of a system which determines the nature and extent of the relation to this object, is political socialization in its widest sense.

The process of political socialization prevails through the whole life, but this cannot surpass the investigation of peculiarities in individual life periods. This is why - among other factors - youth is the crucial element of our first study on political socialization. The analysis of the youth 'segment' of this issue reveals that the traits of youth's position are rooted in macro-society. Therefore, after the general discussion of political socialization and before the concrete analyses (for the sake of their proper interpretation), the position of present Hungarian youth and its social background must also be concerned. This is the only way our further thoughts can make a whole theory.

The Central European, especially Hungarian historical particularities as basic elements require a fully independent research adaptation. Efforts will be made here to make the first steps.

2. Social Background of Youth's Position

The state of youth became a central social problem rather quickly in Hungary. As a sign of all this the number of publications, articles concerning youth increased, and so did the interviews and debates - with or without the participation of those interested - in other areas of masscommunication. We can also hear more and more about youth - in different tones - in political declarations. There is also a major research program existing that deals with the main problems belonging to this field. What sort of phenomena inspired these reactions?

In order to answer this question, we must go back to deep macro-social-historical roots. It is not our task to evaluate the overdueunderdevelopment situation rooted in the country's historical - regional features. Others have done this before us. Although it is undoubtable that from the point of our analysis, it is inevitable to mention the so-called modernization process which decisively changed our society's social structure. The rate of mobility, urbanization and industrialization was undoubtedly fantastic. At the same time, all those economic and political problems are well known that were caused by the controversies within the processes and by external factors. Naturally, it was necessary to live with these controversies. As a matter of fact, against expectations, the dynamism of society's external change had not changed, it took a different direction and had another character. Necessarily, youth's position had to change as well. This was the same during the past decade, too.

Although dynamic changes had started about four decades ago, the processes' general effects became crystallized only in the course of the past fifteen years. The causes are the following: (a) for a long period of time the direct political and economic elements of change meant the process itself, long-range indirect effects can be perceived only in the present period concerning other dimensions of life; (b) the generations, which as result of historical currents became on the one hand the planners, executors and combatters of changes, or on the other hand the opposing, suffering or drifting participants got into the position of looking at these processes from a certain distance in the 1970's.; (c) at the same time the children of the early period became adults, those who were born in the early 1950's got into the career starters' position, and the children of those who were young at the early period appeared as the main body of youth in society.

From among the objective processes influencing the position of youth the changes in society's economic structure in the school system and the closely related social mobility should be emphasized. These problems have been thoroughly analyzed by social science.

Beside the positive tendencies of this multi-layered interdependence system, there are a number of negative consequences, too, concerning youth:

- the distortion of the sexes' ratio in the basic occupational areas;
- orientational disturbances concerning mobility directions;
- loss of career perspectives in the excessively increased strata (skilled workers, mid-level intellectuals);
- the decrease of standards in the case of highly educated employees because of devaluation and low earnings;
- some occupational groups that are left out from the second economy, the chance to get an apartment and from influencing decision-making in issues they are interested in (in other words they are left out of social participation);
- the deviant infiltration of bio-social reproduction (alcoholism, narcotics) in the case of those whose life conditions are considered negative.

Yet, so far we have not mentioned a background institution that is in close connection with the previously mentioned factor, the family, which has a role of key-importance in this process. First of all it is an important problem because the greater percentage of youth is not "independent of family" but they exist within a given family. The other large group is struggling with the task of founding a family. Both life-situations (living in a family, founding a family) in their present state are hedged with difficulties which limits the far-reaching processes of socialization.

From the point of our theme, youth's relation to politics requires further discussion. Social factors basically determining youth's position draw the possible frames for their relation to politics. In order to draw the characteristic features of political socialization, it is necessary to study what kind of effect the independent movement of the political sphere has on youth. From among the general inter- relations mentioned we must select phenomena that will bring us closer to the understanding of present social-political processes.

A strong joining point of political system and socialization is the problem of political participation. The analysis of participation by more palpable phenomena makes it possible to concretize abstract interdependences concerning socialization and the political system. The social participation of youth today can only be disclosed by the analysis of rather complex phenomena. Plenty of problems concerning youth's social integration have been included in this issue. For a long time, social guidance expected their solution from the sphere of working place (school and family) and mostly is still expecting. Although these institutions are able to play a significantly smaller role in the process of youth's social integration, compared to what is presumed ideologically, the subtle effect of these integrational institutions complicates the already rather complex social stratificational relations of

youth. It is also included that very few people can tell about themselves that they are in a favourable position concerning family background, school socialization and their position in labour division in our society.

Concerning youth's social participation we shall start off from two questions:
- What kind of problems do official participation forms carry?
- What other substantial ways are there for youth to correct integrational disturbances?

(1) Our question primarily concerns the efficiency of official youth organizations (Communist Youth Organization, the pioneer organization). This has always been a real problem. Today, in some areas the formally measurable efficiency of these organizations is lower than a decade ago (here we are thinking about the decrease of organization in some universities, the insufficiency of some programs of the movement, the frequent inability to make decisions in university sub-organizations or in the case of organs established to organize young workers). The most important change is that by the increase of youth's social integration troubles started to get a more concrete shape. Since the problem-undertaking ability of organizations does a lot to increase, the social participation opportunities are questioned by more people than earlier. We shall analyze in detail its mechanism when we are describing the internal processes of political socialization. Here in our opinion, the important thing is that the political organizations of youth are not able to secure social participation, as it would be requested as a result of the increase of problems, and as those who are interested would expect. At the same time, beside expecting the promotion of integration process from the youth organizations has similar demands toward other institutional systems that have wide relations with the young-age groups. For example we may mention the area of public culture and sports. Both concepts may be interpreted in many ways. On one hand, we may take these as business like, professional services (for example, rockconcerts, sports events). But there was always a demand to give youth communities opportunity for special self-activity. From the latter ones certain integrational functions were expected. These demands probably have contained illusions, too, but it was not a necessity that these institutional systems should have omitted all self-activity forms which did not show signs of direct professionalization.

(2) All social development periods have produced spontaneous organizations of youth. There were great differences in the measure and character of their evolution in the different moments of history. It was never easy to follow these processes or their logic. It would be a great mistake to over or underestimate the importance of spontaneous organizations. Within the framework of youth-political institutional systems' problems we still must pay more attention to these 'movements'. It is not because the directions of spontaneous movements are

rooted in these problems, but because of their inevitable interrelation that youth's relatively individual efforts for organization are upgraded within the framework of the institutional systems' functional disturbances. This is so because spontaneous processes within political, school and other institutional systems always strive for evolvement either rather independently of movements outside the organization or in close interaction with those. It is almost impossible to take a stock of the multi-colored processes that appear on the thin surface strata. Naturally, the more spectacular forms get into the focus of social attention. The greater the deviancy of the activity's form and content to the ordinary or the expected, the greater conspicuousness is. Today, the category of spontaneously organized groups is used to mark several activities:

(a) such as the ones that are not perceived by the majority of society, but agencies that are in direct contact with them reject these organizations within official institutions (drug addicts);

(b) such as the spectacular ones: they grow out unintentionally from the official (rock music), critical attitude appears only in the outward appearance or in outward appearance, too (hobos, punks);

(c) such as those who are against certain hierarchies but the majority of society forms similar opinion on them (religious basis-communities);

(d) such as the ones that are characterized by ad hoc organization, and only the company of a few is organized for a longer range;

(e) such as the ones that are spontaneous only in the first state of organization, The majority of members belong there as a result of a coercive life-path, and later they get into the state of total deviancy. Meanwhile the consciousness of the nucleus becomes stronger (criminal groups).

These organizational processes carry mostly positive goals. Their point is to strive for a relatively independent character compared to forms considered official. The majority of youth in these groups gets the feeling that even if their integration in society as a whole was not succesful, they were able to integrate themselves into a part of their generation.

Society's official mechanisms mostly reject spontaneous organizations. Although the reaction system may be differentiated in the following way:

(a) coercive terminating tendencies (there is no other way in the case of expressively law-violating forms, but this concerns a much wider circle);

(b) striving for the termination of spontaneous character by trying to integrate the group into some official mechanism (this is frequent in the case of formations within existing organizations);

(c) tolerance within limits (this zone has been broadened significantly but it is still rather narrow).

Social evaluation beyond the official institutional system is characterized by extreme views and chaos. This is amplified by the series of misunderstandings around the problem. This is especially true for the contradictory and mystificating approach of masscommunication. Thus, the part of society that is interested in this issue is rather uncertain concerning the judgement of these organizations.

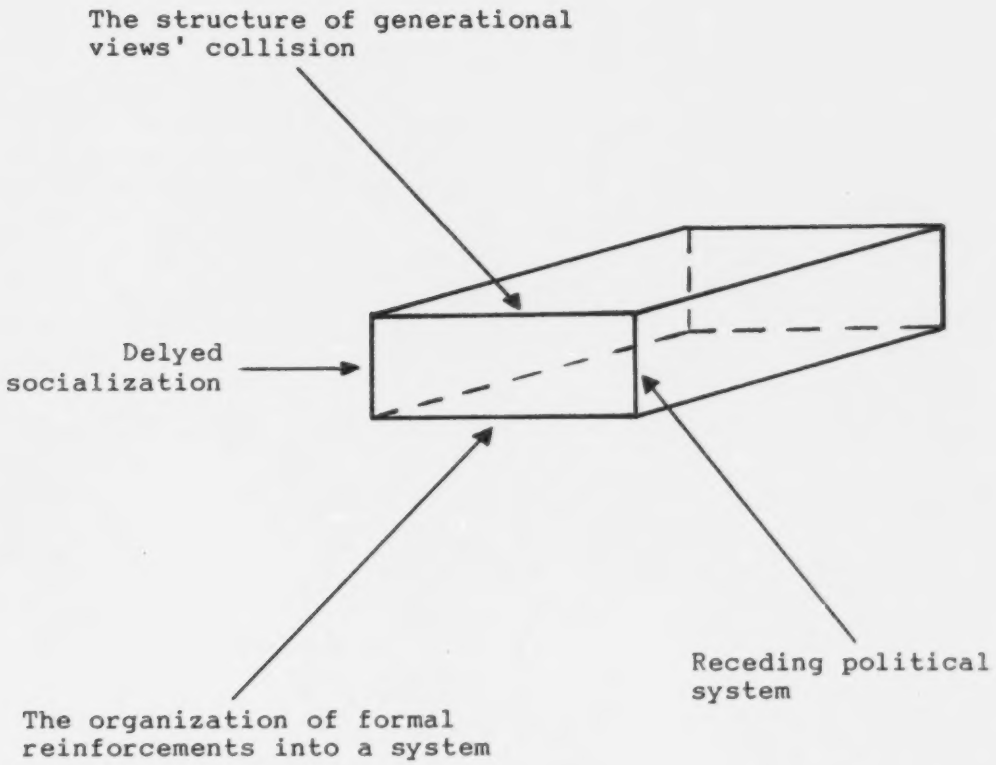
This is how we can summarize our answer to our questions concerning youth's political participation. This way we close the evaluation of political socialization processes' background mechanisms.

3. The Internal Processes of Political Socialization

So far we have considered circumstances that supply the external environment for political socialization processes in Hungary. The movements of these processes cannot be described and understood without these. In the following we shall try to outline the internal configuration of political socialization.

The new generations' political socialization in the processes of our age is mostly well known from the side of results. We could read a rather large number of publications concerning youth's historical knowledge, political impudence, value problems, behavioural culture, free-time habits, age group effects, the frightening emptiness of their views on future, etc. It is undoubtable that the majority of these problems are in close relation with the whole of political socialization. But by placing any of the mentioned problems into the center, it would be necessary to list the possible causes, too. During the research of this problem it looks useful to give an evaluation frame first. With its help the relations between the result-like socializational processes can be made more evident.

The partial phenomena of political socialization processes may be presented by a spatial configuration. For the sake of better understanding, let us imagine in the form of a spatial model the following, later expressed problems:


The structure of generational views' collision
Delyed socialization
Receding political system
The organization of formal reinforcements into a system

3.1. Delayed Socialization

It is well known from our everyday life-experience and from professional literature that the age-period of youth cannot be described or circumscribed by the number of years. It is true that there are great differences between groups concerning the age limit of total adulthood. Generally, we may register the increase of this age limit (1). From the point of political socialization this phenomenon has a multiple importance. The most striking is that the age is extended, during which the role-relations of generations are not clarified. More precisely, they must play several roles and it is very difficult to live together with these permanently. They have to cope with adult norms and with the opposite of those at the same time. Young people have their identity card, after the age of 18 they may vote, formally they are full members of society, but at the same time, the delayed problems of career-starting make them realize the hard facts of their dependence day by day. The elongation and rationalization of this ambiguous situation will sooner or later promote the stabilization of

generational sub-cultures, generational ghettos as the primary means of self defense.

In the cross-fire of socialization demands, the stretching of expectations for a decade paradoxical brings about an opposite result. As defense gestures become more reflex-like the hope for making addressees accept conscious socialization effects decreases.

Looking at it from the side of political socialization, this contradictory situation is even more illuminating. Society, within the framework of institutional education, provides young generations with the basic political knowledge and demands. They feel themselves able for participation, but society is unable to secure real participation for them. Thus, knowledge and the experience of practice is separated.

3.2. The Experience of the Receding Political System

In recent years, more and more studies deal with problems concerning the generational structure of Hungarian society's present leadership (2). (The problem is in the air anyway. Lately there were very sharp debates on the June 1983 meeting of the National Council of Unions) (3). We are interested in the political socialization context of the problem. From this complex phenomenon we shall lay stress on points that are important for our theme.

Earlier researches have already called attention to the fact that in the course of youth's opinion and attitude forming the different dimensions often become congruent along with as the drawback of generational thinking. For example, parents' world becomes easily one with that of adults or the social system with adults' world or with the parents' and the other way around. The picture becomes extremely complex when the surface is backed by real processes. One of the results of postponed generational change is that the ratio of youth is very low in the areas of social leadership. It is especially low compared to their ratio in labour division.

By simplifying the complex processes (that we cannot discuss in detail here) we may register the following: the number of those career starting generations is increasing who live through the present social-political system, so that its personified appearance is away from them in the distance of several decades in thinking, problem-receptivity, life-style, behaviour and role-undertaking. Within the immobility of generations only the entrance of new ones cause movements. This carries the possibility that the problems of certain youth groups will meet little understanding as a result of the increasing experience of age differences. This is so, even though - in the past decades - the political and legal directives with youth-political aims tried to take steps for giving processes a positive turn

Most of the working places considered these provisions a campaign-task. This way only some problems of a generation were concerned temporarily, but never totally (their whole life-situation). As a result, young generations received such rights of participation and partnership with which they may use as young people. In order to keep these rights - even over thirty - (using the Communist Youth Organization's representation), those who are declared young try to combat for their demands, for the accomplishment of their expectations.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, we would like to stress that we do not consider these conscious social processes. We do not say that some people wanted to form these processes, because the movements of society produce /and have always produced/ such phenomena which are alloyed into a recognizable coherency. Thus, for example, the movement-series mentioned formed into a social fact by the end of the seventies and the early eighties. We see the importance of it in the fact that the social system is carrying age-structural elements for young generations.

The legitimation principles, power-practicing values, ideologies, which proved to be enduring in the period of consolidation with less success, can be accepted with the same contents and formal solutions by generations that grew up under different conditions. This contradiction is the source of several socializational strains. In order to understand it, we must count on the fact that the generations producing the main body of the system get in touch with youth through the transmission of more generations at the same time. If we are searching for the structure of this experience received what they should have transmitted in different ways, efficiency and depth within the past twenty years. The main body-generation is carrying the political system's values and mind-world forward in time. After the ratio of those is increasing within each generation whose relation to this mind-world is primarily only adaptive. The basic issue will be the non-perception and the way of perception pushing the possibility of change into the background. The forms of delivery and perception become stabilized for the new generations. Thus, it is a necessity to be actively disposed towards the forms, only. They do not expect changes from themselves but rather from the shift in proportions rooted in the internal stratification of the main-body generation (4).

The newer and newer ways of getting into adulthood in the political sense are not spectacular only because they indulge in completely different values and ideologies but with the "simplification" of political attitudes. This does not mean that young people generally have no new values and ideas. They have new values and ideas but those are located outside the political life and tightly stick to the private sphere. We shall discuss this in detail later. Right now we wish to mention that the process of private-sphere upgrading goes

together (in many cases) with the further strengthening (and thus with the distance's increase) of the formal relations to political-social perspectives.

4. Interpretation of Formal Reinforcements' Role

By analyzing any of the intermediary institutions of political socialization we may see that there are traditional disproportions. One of the disproportions' essence is that institutional political education tries to socialize to the whole of abstract political system from the very beginning (from kindergarten). Much less energy is left for socialization in the spheres that are experienced every day. Principles, values, ideologies of generally meant systems have an overhelming role in the process of political socialization, as if it would be exclusively necessary for man to find his way on the macro-social level. Behind this we find the unconscious (and thus unexpressed) fiction, according to which the political system exists only centrally by having local appearances. Thus the most important thing is to socialize for macro-politics. As an unintentional result, man learns to interpret micro-social conflicts and relations in a non-political way. To put it in another way, the primary aim of socialization is that man should have a precise picture of big politics, he should want to take part in it and to find his way. The trouble is that in most cases man meets big politics only on the level of news and happenings. From the perspective of everyday life the movement of the macro-level political system appears in a rather abstract way. For this reason, only a formal relation may develop, since the individual's influence on the political system (and the other way around: the political system's influence on the individual) is manifested through many transmissions. This ambiguous socialization has another result, too. It is impossible to process the political conflicts of the world lived on a micro-level with the values of intentional socialization, with its patterns and panels of thought and behaviour. The category-system formed for the interpretation of macro-relations rarely give help in processing the emerging conflicts within working places, schools, dwelling places and age-groups. Thus, in most cases the interpretation of micro-level events is eventual and does not contradict what has been learned in socialization since they do not conflict. Satisfaction with the system and dissatisfaction with the concrete life-situation can exist next to each other in a contradictory relationship.

The way of seeing the world favoured in the course of political socialization lacks to give a chance for society to interpret the concrete environment and the whole of society within homogenous frames. As a result, the formation of a specific duality can be registered in the socialization of new generations. The elaboration of concrete experiences, everyday events and their interpretation happens almost exclusively with the

aid of the micro-environment. Formally and generally accepted values have a very little role in it.

On the other hand, we can see that the interpretation of youth's total social-political environment is done with the aid of direct socialization agents' ideological principles and values. Real acquisition of the latter ones never occurs, it remains on the level of verbal undertaking. This is probably the reason why the two standards do not get into conflict with each other in everyday practice, even if (looking at it from the outside) the contradiction is significant. A relatively new element of recent years is that youth accepts formal relations openly as formal ones, and they invest less and less efforts into proving now false contents are to their environment (5).

5. Possible Interpretations of Generational Contradictions

It would be rather flat reasoning to refer to the ever-existing misunderstanding between young and old within the framework of youth researches. On the contrary, it is necessary to try to analyze the contents of generational collision of our days.

The majority of youth research literature is limited to the accaptance of confronting generations. This reservation is acceptable for the most part, since we can often see that the expressed principles concerning this problem are rather flat and superficial. (The unseriousness of these ideas is nicely proved by Agnes Nyerges, in her book 'Today's Youth?, Kozmosz Könyvek, 1978. It shows that the 'charges' against the youth of the seventies are mostly based on returning stereotypes.)

It is a more grounded opinion according to which the world of youth is just as much articulated as that of adults, and there is no background for a homogenous youth opinion. Thus, generational conflicts always show problems with a different character under the surface. The exploration of these is the real task.

By mentioning these intentions, too, we are stating that there are periods when generational, conflicts are real. The chance for this is the greatest when there is a big difference in values concerning the evaluation of the given society. If the official ideology of society appears as if it is given or wanted by 'adults' and as a result, the developed situation-awareness meets youth's evaluation only on a few points, then there is a real possibility for conflicts between older and younger generations to override their own limitation.

Peter Jozsa in the hypothesis of a 1973 survey, tried to pry into the question: What could have sharpened the contradictions between the older and younger society? His starting point was that adult society interprets processes by a mobile picture of

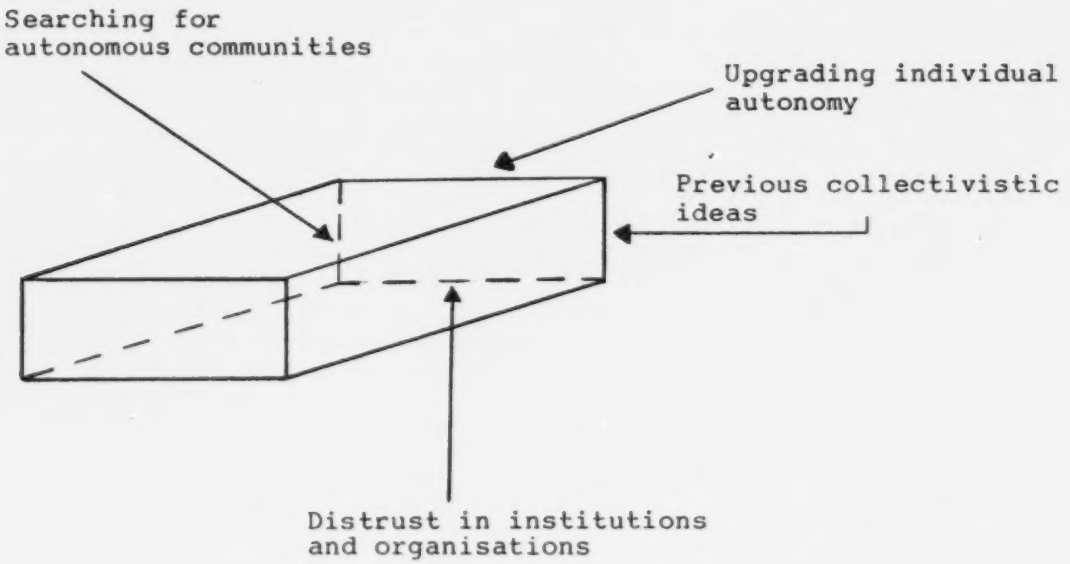
world, they are sensing a changing society. "On the contrary, today's youth grew up and is growing up in a relatively stabilized, socially, structurally and organizationally less mobile world. Proof of the fact is the manifestation of a function-system. If this is so, then it cannot be acceptable for them to evaluate an immobile world as a mobile one. Thus they feel the relation and value system of the generation inadequate that primarily tries to influence them" (6). Since young people sooner or later grow up, probably there is the change of values.

The quoted survey was looking for the answer in the early seventies concerning the value structure of Hungarian urban youth which developed from the conflicts of the late sixties. Eversince then a decade had been upset, and it seems that it is necessary to speak about the change of values again. But this change cannot be understood by the earlier interpretations. Although it is very risky to talk about a homogenous "adult" opinion concerning the situation-evaluation of today's Hungarian society, we can see that for middle and older generations the following evaluation is more concrete: it is also a big thing if we can conserve our achievments. For youth this 'achievement protecting' view is very hard to adapt to. Thus, it is not too challenging for them. (At this point we are not interested in the evaluation of the real situation, but in the interest-conflicts resulting in the differences of opinions settled on it.) The structure of generational contradictions may be approached from the following basis: the same social event is experienced differently by people in different situations. New generations seeing the unsuccessful and successful efforts would like to avoid the repetition of useless ones. (It might be interesting that elementary and high school children - in the interviews - generally felt sorry for their parents when evaluating their work by saying that they work hard and a lot but they never receive any good in return. Probably, in many cases children repeat what they heard from their parents. Although the result is the same if they accept their parents' opinion or they come to this conclusion from their own experience.)

The mentioned problems give the intersection of political socialization's present process on areas where the political structure-processes may be interpreted within the generational structure, too. Naturally these outlined problems need further, through analysis.

Although these outlines prove sufficient for us to grab further points of intersection. We can find links between elongated socialization, the experience of receding political system, the fastening of formal elements in the socialization process and the problems of intergenerational value-changes. To put it in an other way, each problem group is expressed and may be manifested in the other one. To a certain extent these show political socialization processes from the inside, but, in

order to draw a more precise picture, we must take a look at the internal projection of the intersecting points' intertwining picture. If we continue to draw our imaginary spatial figure, we can see what colours are added to the features of political socialization, and which differing features are strengthened compared to previous stages concerning the identity of new generations.



Meanwhile these points of intersection have been given hypothetical names because a concluded research is not a finished one. We use these names because we can summarize certain processes under them. So far, we have reached to the point where the existence of phenomena can be observed, the method of their structure's cognition is available. Thus, their characterization - besides being hypothetical - will be sketchy, too.

6. The Upgrading of Individual Autonomy

We can notice the strengthening of individual autonomy's upgrading in the case of several youth groups. It is interesting that ten years ago the Jozsa survey met this phenomenon, but he evaluated it - probably because it seemed sporadic - as remaining rooted in the past. Today, we can talk about a generally spreading view behind which there is a dominating recognition (ideology) saying that individual prosperity has chances. In this context we may say that new generations look at their perspectives with more reality.

These tendencies are well represented by one of the articles in the 'Parents' Forum' column in Magyar Nemzet. From the compositions of high school students concerning their future elements referring to social-political participation were missing. Students could interpret their future exclusively from the point of individual prosperity (7).

Other and our reasearches show similar features in this context: the intensified demand for autonomy is escorted by the feeling that they cannot expect and hope for basic help from the institutional spheres of society. We are careful to put this phenomena 'in its place' with any kind of ideologic qualification, since, on the one hand we know little about it and, on the other hand, what we do know makes it evident that we are not facing an ideologic problem.

According to our present knowledge we may report only on the spreading of this phenomena. In the following points we shall explain the intensification of autonomy demands as much as possible. In any case these efforts have separable dimensions in several areas, too. For example, the new economic possibilities' effects (and attraction) can be noticed in this field.

The non-committal behaviour that we experienced toward the different organizational forms is connected in several points to the effects of these opportunities. Still they cannot be discussed together because the roots of the latter phenomenon come from somewhere else.

7. Previous Collectivistic Ideas

We have so far referred to the issue of denotation from collectivistic ideas in several contexts. The idea of collectivism referred to in the title does not mean an anti-community approach at all. It means the distrust in the collective that is forced from the outside. This is especially true for organizations with direct political features. New generations are not able - against all opposite efforts - to take these as collectives. Probably, we shall have to describe the most controversial feature of the present political socialization processes, in order to pose the question clearly.

The concord of consciuous socialization agents is evident in the point that their ideal, proclaimed and proposed personality type is the community-man who can act and who wants to act for others, for the future and for society. At the same time, we can see that the acceptance of this type is less and less successful. The growing-up generations have a benignant, indulgent attitude to this ideal. They understand that for the older generations this ideal means a lot. Therefore, they do not question its validity openly, but they do not in the least want to accept it as they are expected to.

In order to clarify the problem, we must take several things into consideration at the same time. Let us call one of them the intersecting effect of conscious and unconscious socialization processes. A society's political socialization can never be analyzed only by the declared efforts. Spontaneous social processes, even if they are invisible, have a very great role in the whole of socialization. This concretely means that the effects functioning next to formalized political socialization do not strengthen collectivistic ideals but they question their usefulness in everyday life. Young people who grew into adulthood in the last decade had less chance to meet the positive community-man type that was held up as an example for them since their childhood. Thus this parable faded into an abstract possibility which they could meet on rare occasions in everyday life. Its opposite became the general experience, namely, that man's total personality and all abilities are needed to stay on his feet and compared to this collective activities and roles appear as hindering factors. If someone puts forward the latter one, he will get nowhere with it. (We must not forget that the parents of today's teenagers belong to the 35-45 age group of the labour force which got a chance to work a lot and in many places in order to raise their consumer standards in the past decade. Growing up generations saw their example day by day.)

To simplify this process to its essence we could say that it is very hard to accept the ideal of community-man type under such social circumstances which do not promote the organization of communities. We must make this description more exact. The picture is more complicated, since in the course of socialization they want to make people accept several social institutions as communities which are not accepted by recipients as communities but as institutions given ready and from the outside. Thus, their suspicion is intensified often against the ideal of collectivity, accompanied by the worry that community man is the "Trojan horse" for practicing subjugation, the roles and situations of subjects. This leads to distrust in all sorts of institutions (8).

8. Distrust in Institutions and Organizations

When a person is young he cannot see through the world of too many institutions, but the ones he meets are recalled intensely. From this point we must handle two intertwining structures with exclusive attention: the proportional school system and the organizational system of youth movement. Especially the first one has been the center of social debates for years. For this reason, we are not intending to 'enrich' this polemy with further points. Presently the two institutional systems are interesting for us only from the point of described political socialization processes. Based on these we can state that the primary evocatives and arrangers of political socialization's present controversial situation are these in-

stitutions. The previously mentioned contradictions come to life within these organizations, they are personified here, and become an everyday experience. Experiences become fixed. The emerging conflicts and problems wear away within the framework of institutions, and there are rare occasions when these are processed in a humanized way (with positive educative effect). For this reason the obtained negative experiences are generally projected to the existence of hierarchical organizations. This is the point where the phenomena discussed under different titles can meet.

Organizational failures strengthen autonomy demands. Increasing autonomy disintegrates collectivistic ideals which already had lost their contents. Institutions gradually lacking collectivity and collective moments are really reduced to institution and organization like forms of existence. Organizations proclaim such collective values which they can undertake only verbally, and which they cannot realize in the course of their task dischargement. Thus, the ideology of these organizations is separted from their actual practice, and in a paradoxical way the functioning of the organization in itself produces the demand for autonomy. At the same time, it is also restraining the realization of these demands, thus continuously reproducing suspicion against institutional life.

The circle in which we wished to show the contradictions of present political socialization can be grossly closed. Although for a fuller description of the processes we have to count on a phenomenon that emerged from the same system of contradictions within the past years.

9. The Strengthening of the Search for Autonomous Communities

The break of collectivistic ideals does not mean - and it cannot mean - the failure of the demand for sociality (although we can see signs of it). The situation is that new generations empty and disintegrate the readily received, externally organized organizational modes that can offer only membership relations. But almost parallel to this we can see the quick spread of group forms. The substance of these is that young people themselves can participate in the maintenance of these groups. Recently we could read in one of our central newspapers that the number of amateur rock groups increased a hundredfold within a short period of time. We can also see the signs of increase in the areas of social integration which seemingly have nothing to do with each other: from religious basic communities to dwelling place initiatives (9).

This phenomenon seemingly contradicts what we have said about individual autonomy. These communities can attract people because they are not endangering private autonomy that can only be given up by the individual's own will. But with this there is a trap for the new generations: the spreading social organi-

zation outside the outside the institutional social frames can offer the missing experience of collectivity (or its surrogate), but it is not promoting the generations' assimilation in society, and gives even less opportunity for participation in decision making concerning their life situation and the integration of efforts enforcing their interests.

Thus, this type of organization in its present form has a double edge and it is very difficult to predict its future. Its fate depends significantly on the reactions of adult society. Anyway, it would be a narrow-minded step - causing defects on the long range - if their integration, - because of their different, peculiar character opposing the accepted principles, - would cause the loss of their original face without establishing institutional possibilities in exchange that could solve the serious and far-flung problems of real integration.

The latter institutionalizing processes are necessary because real autonomy, in other words, the perception possibility for really existing political efforts' reflection in a broader social medium, can be unfolded only through the increase of social participation.

The analysis of the political socialization process and the description of its contradictions will necessarily direct our thoughts toward the understanding of youth's situation. Our conclusion is the same as our starting point was: we postulated the multicoloured youth of a proportioned society that is struggling with plenty of difficulties. We tried to size up the inner structure of it and the possibilities emerging from the socialization processes. We found that within the political socialization process the same problems and contradictions mean the conditions and consequences. If the process is consequently thought over it would contribute to the determination of change's possible starting points and would enable us to be able to count on the eventual consequences, too.

Notes

(1) For understanding delayed socialization better, see: Jozsa, Peter: The Socio-demographic Contents, Value and Mentality Structure of Hungarian Urban Youth. Volume I. Nepmüvelesi Intezet, 1979.; Gazso, Ferenc: Youth in the Structure of Our Society. Közneveles, No. 36. 1982; Bekes, Zoltan: The Issues of Youth's Life and Career Starting ... Tarsadalomtudomanyi Közlemenyek, No. 3. 1982.; Varine Szilagyi, Ibolya: Issues of Youth's Political Socialization. Tarsadalmi Szemle, No. 5., 1982.; Csepeli, György: The Sketch of Socialpsychology. Nepmüvelesi Propaganda Iroda, 1979. pg. 156.; Pataki, Ferenc: Generational Changes and The Continuity of Socialist Development. See in our book

pg. 44.; Huszar, Istvan: Youth and Society. See our book, pg. 11.

(2) See: Tömpe, Zoltan: The Interest of the Leader. Valösag, No. 10., 1982. Kulcsar, Kalman: The Present Hungarian Society. Kossuth, 1981. Illes, Ivan: On the Trail of Generations. Valosag, No. 11, 1981.; Lakatos, Miklos: The Formation of Working Youth's Professional Structure Based on the Data of the 1970 and 1980 National Census. (Studies) KSH, 1982.

(3) Nepszava, June 23, 1983.

(4) Ancsel, Eva: The Change of Values and Youth. See in this edition pg. 61.

(5) This theme have been so far mostly processed by sociography and literature. Its sociologic literature is very poor. Still, for example the following book is very constructive: H. Sas, Judit - Haber, Judit: World with the Smell of Textbooks (Akademia Kiado 1980). Further some well known publications of recent years concerning political culture make the evaluation of the phenomenon easier. (Gombar, Hankiss, Badacsonyi, Hanak, P. etc.)

(6) Jozsa, Peter: ibid. Vol.I. pg. 24. Concerning the evaluation of the same problem see the quoted publications of Ancsel, Eva and Pataki, Ferenc.

(7) Magyar Nemzet, 1983, June 9. Life Plans Here and There. (By Kisvaradi, Eva).

(8) Strangely we can find the deepest analysis of this phenomenon in film reviews: Almasi, Miklos on the apropos of the film Standing Time writes down this process very plastically under the title "The Speeding Time Stops". Filmkultura, No. 1., 1983.; Also, Eörsi, Istvan's thoughts on the film Little Valentino are very edifying / Eörsi, Istvan: The Chances of Buoyancy. Szepirodalmi Kiado, 1981. pgs. 295 - 298/; the real messengers of new processes could also be noticed in films: Gazdag, Gyla in the Whistling Cobble Stone was the first one to analyze this problem. (Further: the series on Education, The Prize-Trip, Graduation, etc.).

(9) Nepszabadsag, April 27, 1983. New Wave.

PROPOSALS CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF POLITICAL EDUCATION
by *Hans Hooghoff*

1. Developments of political education

This article outlines the development of political education in several European countries. Attention is focused on the status quo. In the light of present and future trends in educational policy, suggestions are made in favour of international coordination and cooperation, with a view to improving the subject's prestige and quality through joint efforts.

In the sixties, social change and discussions in education in the US and Western Europe gave rise to a different definition of the term 'curriculum'. Attention shifted from descriptions of subject matter to planning of the form and structure of teaching. The emphasis on development gave the term 'curriculum' a more dynamic flavour. This was characteristic of those days, when socio-economic progress and personal development were high priority issues.

Starting in the US, and later followed by countries such as West Germany, Great Britain, and the Netherlands as well, curriculum development projects were launched. First, as usual, for mathematics and sciences (the Sputnik effect!) and only much later for the social sciences.

Responding to the demand for socially relevant education aimed at the individual, social and political sciences tried to gain a stronger position in the school curriculum. Within a social context of national and international democratization movements, these efforts contributed towards the initiation of curriculum projects for political studies in several countries. Especially in the early seventies, these projects were often characterized by academic discussion. Supporters and opponents argued about the desirability and feasibility of pedagogical and didactic models.

In countries like West Germany and Great Britain, these curriculum activities produced a wide range of teaching materials, with both good and bad practical examples. At the end of the seventies, it could be observed that more schools, but also the inspectorate and the government subscribed to the importance of "political, competence". At universities, staff was appointed for research and lecturing.

However, in spite of this legitimization, political education was faced with a number of essential problems, such as the absence of a consistent body of subject matter derived from academic disciplines. Another was the absence of well-trained teachers and workshops in support of teachers. And last but not least the extremely broad definition given to political education. This varied from an introduction to the social

sciences to studies of current events, from a spotlight on government and parliament even to the propagation of certain party political views. The quantity of teaching materials has evidently failed to contribute to an improvement of the quality of political studies. To achieve effective political education, aimed at the formation of well-founded opinions about social issues and political competence, other strategies and conditions are necessary.

In the game that must lead to a structural place in education for political studies, various players play a complementary or conditional role. Examples are the government and the inspectorate, when it comes to giving stimulating guidelines; curriculum specialists, when it comes to developing a widely accepted and scientifically based core curriculum, with consistent models; applied research, when it comes to discovering how to improve the quality of political studies in classroom practice; suppliers of in-service training, when it comes to improving teachers' know-how; commercial publishers when it comes to adapting widely used school methods; teachers, when it comes to bringing about other and better learning results in political studies, pupils, who are offered political education as a natural part of the basic qualifications which they must have at their disposal now or in the future.

But at least as important for the improvement of the position of political studies is cooperation and information exchange between European institutes for development, training and research. At a conference in Cologne in March 1987, organized by the European Research Committee of IPSA, the recommendation was made to seek opportunities for cross-cultural cooperation. For several reasons, I believe this cooperation, in whatever form, to be of vital importance. Obviously, it is important for the implementation and the improvement of the quality of political studies. For this purpose, experience and expertise in the fields of curriculum development, training and research should be brought together, or better still, combined. Relevant and adequate research data, which could support the design of curriculum products or supply tips for adjusting training courses, should be available to all European institutes. This also goes for didactic models of proven usefulness and effectiveness, and for strategies which promote implementation. Information should be compiled about the fundamental question: what core of knowledge, insight and skills does a pupil need in our present and future multiform society? What is the school's task with regard to democratic political education? This calls for answers to such questions as: how do we define the concepts of democracy and politics? Which basic concepts and which analytical instruments are central? What basic values and principles underlie the curriculum?

The trend in Western Europe to introduce core curricula with learning outcomes for all subjects in the first stage of secondary education (for 12 to 16 year olds) call for a recon-

sideration of Social Studies and the place of political studies in this subject field. Within the perspective of education in the year 2000, the Ministries of Education will spend the coming years deciding which fields of knowledge are the school's responsibility. New technologies, a closer link-up with vocational education imply competition for social studies. It is no coincidence that now of all times, geography and history teachers' societies in the US have demonstrated gaps in elementary knowledge among pupils. The result is a great revival of geography with sponsoring of curriculum and in-service training projects. It is doubtful, however, whether these actions will promote "civic education" in the US. There, too, political education is quite often preconceivedley deemed 'subversive', and is, therefore rather controversial. Moreover, political education lacks the tradition of geography and history in society and education. A curtailment of either the content or the number of lessons of social studies is a direct threat to the position of political education. Such a development, already evident in England and to a lesser extent becoming manifest in the Netherlands, calls for more European coordination and cooperation.

In order to improve the status and the quality, but also the image of political studies, I would like to propose the following tactics:

2. Coordination of infomation supply

It is of crucial importance that a central information point be established where data, in the form of reports, documents, articles, etc., are available concerning curriculum development, research and training in the field of political education. Ideally, this would be a European information and documentation centre storing information and distributing it on request (compare the ERIC/Social Studies Centre, Bloomington, USA). Since this is hardly feasible at the moment, the least that could be done is to appoint a central information point, where data are available about such matters as:

- the status quo of political education in Western Europe: reports, policy documents, project plans and selected articles;
- a survey for each country by region of institutes like research centres, universities, teacher training colleges, unions and curriculum institutes, listing relevant activities and contact persons;
- new trends and initiatives in and outside Europe which pertain to political studies as a school subject.

Such a central information point should possess the means and resources needed to set up a computer data base, which other users can be connected with. In Western Europe, the possibilities of using the Euridyce network for this purpose could be studied.

As one of the functions of this information point is to report newsworthy developments, a brief, sober newsletter with "valuable" information could be distributed (at cost price) among IPSA/Europe members. Later, in close consultation with the coordinating committee appointed for this purpose, this information point should gear curriculum and research activities to one another so as to enable mutual support and complementation. Particularly, these efforts should prevent people from "reinventing the wheel" due to lack of infomation. Besides this concise newsletter (titled "Briefs"), consultation should take place with the RCPA(IPSA/Europe on whether a new "Journal on political education" would be viable (recommendation of the RCPA Cologne conference, March 1987).

3. Cooperation between institutes in Europe

At the initiative of the Council of Europe, the European Commission, national institutes for political education and teachers' organizations, a great many conferences and workshops have been organized in the past decades. The results of such initiatives and their effects on the development of the content of political studies are hard to put one's finger on. Perhaps people have been able to inspire others in their working environment. Often, the contacts remain noncommital, usually resulting in no more than a sort of personal enrichment.

However, by localizing and identifying experts in various European countries, a more complementary policy could be pursued. At the same time, this could give rise to plans for joint conferences or perhaps even European projects. Accordingly, since 1987, the policy of the European Commission has "been directed more towards subsidizing joint activities of institutes from the member countries which belong to the formal educational system. The Dutch National Institute for Curriculum Development, for example, has submitted a project proposal for enhancing the European dimension. This proposal, which has been approved, puts emphasis on bringing together institutes with various expertise. Within this framework, a complementary project proposal may possibly be submitted, aimed at the integration of European political education in the curricula.

It is equally important to interest organizations and institutes in a conference and study programme in Europe, leading to a more systematic exchange of experience and information. The RCPA/IPSA could take the initiative in establishing a "European Platform" of authoritative representatives of the participating countries. In other words, a European Network for political studies that initiates, coordinates and brings about cooperation.

A problem with proposals for international cooperation is of course the feasibility. This is a question of time, money and administrative possibilities. It is for the RCPA to pronounce

on the desirability, a more detailed phasing and the establishment of priorities. For this purpose, consultation should be started on a small scale in 1988. In any case, a high priority should be given to the compilation of a "European directory" with names etc. of institutes, contact persons and descriptions of current activities. The publication of a directory opens the possibility of cross-border information exchange and communication.

Conference and Congress Matters

ECONOMIC-FINANCIAL CRISIS, EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY - AN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
by *Marshall W. Conley*

Education, being one of society's main duties, needs to look nowadays for intelligent answers and adequate alternatives to face the challenge that the economic-financial crisis has brought about. Alternatives, like decentralization, with its effects on national identity and the ways social groups participate in the decision-making process, require serious studies that will clear the road for new and better forms of participation, organization and opportunities for all peoples. A political education in the schools, that would enable students to understand their reality, and to participate in the decisions that effect them, could be an alternative to assist in solving some of the problems of today. This International Congress (held in Villahermosa, Tabasco, Mexico) from February 11th, - 13th, 1987) was a forum to exchange experiences and ideas that will benefit the advancement of research in this field and the development of new national and international strategies.

The congress was jointly organized and sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Recreation of the State of Tabasco, Mexico, and the Research Committee on Political Education of the International Political Science Association. His Excellency, Enrique Gonzalez Pedrero, Governor of the State of Tabasco, and a political scientist, presided at the opening ceremonies and gave the major address. Keynote speaker was Professor Dr. Marshall W. Conley, Vice-Chairperson of the RCPE, from Acadia University, Canada, who spoke on 'The Importance of Political Education in National Development'.

Four panels were organized for the duration of the three-day congress. These consisted of: Educational Financing in Times of Crisis; Educational Decentralization: Alternatives and Dilemmas; Political Education and National Identity; and, Political Education, Cultural Colonianism and Development. The uniqueness of the organization was that each panel went for five hours a day. As one research paper was presented other members of that panel joined in the discussion of the research findings. Each panel was attended by 50 to 70 people who were given two hours at the end of each day to discuss the papers and to ask questions. Needless to say, all of the panelists found this experience to be quite invigorating. Another satisfying aspect of this congress was that each paper giver was allowed one hour for their presentation. In all there were thirty papers persented by academcis representing twenty-one universities from three countries. The proceedings of the International Congress on Political Education were published in four vo-

lumes. Below are listed the panels and the papers presented. For further information contact the IPSA secretariat.

Panel I: Educational Financing at the Times of Crisis: Theoretical Perspectives and Experiences

Crisis, Education and Perspectives (Edgar Jimenez)

Educational Planning and Curricular Differentiation: Continuity and Change in Technological Middle Education during Three Administrations in Mexico (Teresa Bracho)

Teaching Social Sciences: Tendencies and Perspectives (Giovanna Valenti)

The Economic Crisis and the National Education Program in Mexico: Considerations on Some Problems and Perspectives for the Future (Jorge Padua)

Education in Times of Crisis (David Barkin)

Technical Training in Tabasco: Educational Alternative or Education without Alternative? (Gloria Alenjandra Benito Pereyra)

Panel II: Educational Decentralization: Alternatives and Dilemmas

Educational Decentralization (Jose A. Ramirez)

Teachers Education in the Canadian Northwest Territories: Cultural Inclusion, or Cultural Imperialism (Robert J. Carney)

Educational Decentralization (Guadalupe Cano de Ocampo)

Education within an Integral Development Project: A Work Experience in an Underdeveloped Area (Julio Moure Cortes)

Democracy and Education (Gilberto Guevara)

Decentralization: A Factor to Improve Qualifying Education in Rural Areas (Xochitl D. Ordonex/Xavier Tolentino)

Decentralization, a Case: University of Veracruz (Veracruz Mexico)

Higher Education within the Context of Economic-Financial Crisis (Josue Vera Granados)

Panel III: Political Education and National Identity: Theoretical Perspectives and Curricular Experiences

Political Education and Participant Citizenship: Implications for School, Curricula and Pedagogy (Kenneth Osborne)

Political Education Programs: Its Accomplishments (Gabriel Camara)

School Democracy in Tabasco: Problems and Perspectives (Juan A. Lezama)

After Thirty Years, What has been done about Indian Education? A Manifestation of Cultural Colonialism (Nancy Modiano)

School, Television and National Identity in 60 Grade Children (Mercedes Charles)

Alternative Theoretical Approaches for the Study of Politics in Education (Rodolfo Medina)

National Identity, Cultural Reproduction and the Education Systems of Latin America (Manuel Figueroa)

Panel IV: Political Education, Cultural Colonianism and Development

Art Education: Basis for Cultural Development (Laura Ramirez Rasgado)

Education, Autonomy and National Identity Facing the New Technologies of Communication and Information (Pablo Caseres Arragoiz)

Political Education, Theory and Practice: A Case Study of Canada (Marshall W. Conley)

Adult Education as Political Education (Jeff Unsickerl/Carlos A. Torres)

Human Rights and Education: Implications for Educational Policy (Norma Tarrow)

Community Participation in the Educational Process (Silvia Schmelkes)

An Invitation for a Compromise of Liberation in Education (Tomas Miklos)

Political Education and Civic Action (Carlos Ortega)

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION OF THE YOUNG IN EAST AND WEST - REPORT OF AN INTERNATIONAL ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE
by *Vijay Laxmi Pandit*

The IPSA Research Committee on Political Education and the Ostkolleg of the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung organized an International Round Table Conference on 'Political Socialization of the Young in East and West' at Cologne, F.R.G., from March 9th, - 13th, 1987. The central theme around which the conference was organized was the role of political education in the political socializiation of the young people around the world.

The main purpose of the conference was to further an exchange of research findings and related information and to promote the international comparative discussion on the trends and developments and the actual status of political learning in east and west. Particular emphasis was placed on the institutional and curricular demands of organized political education in conjunction with a clearly defined focus on the problems arising from relations between East and West.

The papers prepared under the broad theme of the conference had been distributed into ten separate, sharply focussed and thematically integrated panel sessions. Twenty-nine scholars - Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Middle East, Northern America and Southern Asia - drawn from disciplines as widely different as education, history, political science and sociology participated in the five day conference.

Over the years the interest in political education has grown and the membership of the IPSA Research Committee on Political Education has increased manifold and, therefore, naturally produces a large crop of papers. However, the organizers carefully chose papers for discussion in the conference. Eigth papers dealt with Eastern Europe, seven with Western countries, two with Southern Asia, one with Midlle East, and two were of general nature. The standard of most of the papers was extremely good. There was an underlying sequence and thematic continuity in all the papers which reflects nothing but the labour put in by the organizers in selecting the papers. Here are some very personal impressions (for complete information please see the list of papers at the end):

Wasmund's presentation was very analytical and informative. He critically examined the situation of political socialization and education in West Germany. He traced the development of research of political socialization in West Germany since 1945, and thus provided a broad framework for the discussions in the conference. Suna Kili's paper analysed the process of political socialization with special reference to young people in Turkey. She made an attempt to critically look at the actual structures, curricular implications, teaching methods and effects and related her analysis with social and historical

background of Turkey. The paper contained many ideas which offer excellent leads for understanding the nature of recent changes of the political socialization of young ones in Turkey. Hooghoff's paper was also good and contained quite a lot of interesting suggestions toward understanding the dynamics of political education in the Netherlands.

Two sessions were devoted to countries of Eastern Europe. One of them was exclusively devoted to political socialization processes in Hungary. Békés', Kéri's, Csepeli's and Szabó's papers delt with political socialization and education of Hungarian youth. These papers were of great interest since in Hungary the political ideology has been given a specific independent role and it has influenced the whole content and way of thinking pertaining to political education. A new situation had emerged in Hungary in the 1980s which is quite different from the earlier one which has necessitated reconsideration of the whole strategy of political socialization. All these papers delt with various aspects of these new phenomena; and they were excellent and contained many ideas which after some modifications can be successfully adopted in developing countries like India which are striving hard to socialize politically their young people in order to equip them properly to discharge their duties as citizens efficiently and effectively.

Equally rich was the crop of papers dealing with the USSR, Poland, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia. Filipp's paper was devoted to necessity and importance of having peace education in West Germany and Czechoslovakia. There was an execellent paper from Barbara Fratczak-Rudnicka which analysed the political socialization process in Poland. She brought out very scharply the incoherency, both external and internal, of the Polish political education. Her conclusions that future development of political socialization processes in Poland would depend upon the evolution of the economic situation invited lots of comments and discussions. There was another good paper by Ralf Rytlewski in which he analyses conditions of political socialization in the German Democratic Republic. It contained many significant points for discussions. All these papers brought out sharply the role played by the state in mobilizing the youngs in the task of reconstruction of their societies in accordance with the ideology they profess. They brought out clearly that if you are serious about your purpose than nothing can prevent you from achieving your goals. Goals have to be achieved ruthelessly if you want to succeed. They reinforced the crucial role of the state in the education of the youngs.

Pandit's and Chopra's papers on India (Delhi and Punjab respectively once again brought out the point that not much attention is paid in India toward socialization especially political of the youngs. To compare this with tendencies in industrialized Western countries it was good to have the papers of Heater (Great Britain) and Paletz (USA) who unfortunately could not present their findings and ideas themselves.

One of the redeeming features of the conference was that senior scholars like Claussen, Geissler and Müller did not present papers and were available for intervention and discussing papers presented in the conference. This was a novel way of getting maximum from such scholars. Indeed, their contributing was of immense value. Their interventions were not only insightful but also thought provoking. Their searching and pointed querries, on the one hand, helped in extracting the most from the other scholars. With their rich and varied experiences they were able to contribute much towards the success of the conference. The way they treated and encouraged young scholars was something very rare to find now-a-days.

The conferences on political education has traditionally been dominated by educationalists, psychologists and sociologists. This International Round Table Conference brought together several contributions by historians and political scientists. One of the encouraging features of the conference were the contributions of the young scholars who are still in the process of completing their researches or thinking over the data; and their contributions (especially those of Heike Ackermann, Hanne Birckenbach, Dekker, Sure, Stradling and Wilma Vollebergh, which really were of high interest) and the discussions (e.g. about the papers of Fedossow, Waterkamp and Meyenberg, which included information for controversial debates) which took place at the various sessions certainly provide promise of the new directions in political education of the youngs in east and west.

Accommodating the large number of papers could not have been an easily task especially when almost all of them were of good quality, and several participants felt that the time available for discussions was too short. Nevertheless this was more than made up by the possibility of informal discussions outside the panel sessions. The conference was held in a big mansion with excellent facilities. All the participants had been housed in the same building where the sessions were held. This provided an opportunity to participants to carry the discussion outside the conference hall and to pursue their querries, the special leads offered by the papers and their criticisms into the more informal and scenic setting outside. Certainly, the participants felt that the fact of their having been housed in the same building where they could discuss their common work and interests together was as rewarding, if not more, as participation in the panel sessions.

The conferences on political education organized by the RCPE had traditionally been a largely European affair. However, this time, the organizers of the conference had extended invitations to scholars from different regions of the world. It would be very good if in future time scholars from Africa, other regions of Asia than India, Australia and South America could and would participate following the invitations. Of course they also will have to say interesting things about political socialization in their countries.

Indian scholars, for example, are generally more familiar with the work of scholars in the USA and the United Kingdom and with the work being done at European universities which has become available in English. However, they are less familiar with work being done in European languages. Participation at the conference afforded the Indian scholars an opportunity to familiarise themselves with the excellent work being done at Hamburg, Moscow, Warsaw, Budapest, Utrecht, Groningen, Enschede, Berlin, etc. and to discuss their own work with scholars from universities at these places.

Judging from the way the Cologne International Round Table Conference went, there is no doubt that organizers had put in painstaking efforts. Professor Dr. Bernhard Claussen and Dr. Horst Müller added their personal affection and friendly style to make the conference an informal get-together and earned the affection of the co-workers in political education field. The Cologne International Round Table Conference was indeed a memorable academic experience.

Bernhard Claussen and Horst Müller are going to edit and publish all the papers presented at the conference both in English and German in spring or summer 1988. The papers and the paper givers were as follows:

Political Socialization in West Germany since 1945 (Klaus Wasmund)

Political Education in West Germany and the Representation of the Relations between East and West (Heike Ackermann)

Political Socialization and Political Education in the Netherlands (Hans Hooghoff)

Continuity and Change: Aspects of Political Socialization in Turkey (Suna Kili)

Political Socialization and Political Education in the USA (David Paletz)

A State of Confusion: Factors in the History of English Political Education (Derek Heater)

Aspects of Political Socialization in the USSR (Pjotr Fedossow)

Formal Political Education in Poland (Barbara Fratczak-Rudnicka)

Sexism and Anti-Feminism in Adolescence as an Aspect of Political Socialization (Wilma Vollebergh)

Reconciliation and Political Education - A West-German-Czechoslovak Approach (Karlheinz Filipp)

Political Education and Political Socialization in the United Kingdom (Robert Stradling)

State Identification as an Aspect of Political Socialization in the German Democratic Republic (Dietmar Waterkamp)

Political Socialization and Political Education in India (Vijay Laxmi Pandit)

Political Socialization of the Young in the Punjab (India) (Surendra Chopra)

Political Socialization and Political Education in Hungary (György Csepeli)

New Outcomes of Hungarian Youth Research and Tasks of Hungarian Youth's Political Education (Zoltán Békés)

Possibilities of Interpretation of Hungarian Problems of Political Socialization (Laszlo Kéri)

Youth Sub-Cultures and Political Socialization in Hungary (Máté Szabó)

Latest Developments of Political Socialization (Henk Dekker/ Rüdiger Meyenberg)

Children Ask for the Reasons of War: Proposals for the Political Learning of Adults (Hanne Birckenbach/Christoph Sure)

CONTRIBUTION OF THE RESEARCH COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION TO THE FOURTEENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF IPSA (WASHINGTON, D.C., USA: AUGUST 28, - SEPTEMBER 1, 1988)

Convenor/Consultant: Bernhard Claussen, University of Hamburg

Prof. Dr. Bernhard Claussen
Dept. of Political Education
University of Hamburg
Von-Melle-Park 8
D-2000 Hamburg 13
Federal Republic of Germany

First Session: Perspectives of Globalization and Internationalization of Political Education and Political Socialization

Chairman: Bernhard Claussen, University of Hamburg

Prof. Dr. Bernhard Claussen
Dept. of Political Education
University of Hamburg
Von-Melle-Park 8
D-2000 Hamburg 13
Federal Republic of Germany

Heike Ackermann, University of the Federal Armed Forces (Hamburg), "Trendsin the Educational Policy and the Curriculum in West Germany because of Internationalization and Globalization"

Heike Ackermann
Dept. of Educational Policy
University of the Federal Armed Forces
Holstenhofweg 85
D-2000 Hamburg 70
Federal Republic of Germany

Walter Bender, University of the Federal Armed Forces (Hamburg), "‚Enlightenment' as the International Dimension of Adult Political Education"

Dipl.-Päd. Walter Bender
Dept. of Adult Education
University of the Federal Armed Forces
Holstenhofweg 85
D-2000 Hamburg 70
Federal Republic of Germany

Marshall W. Conley, Acadia University (Wolfville, Nova Scotia), "Impediments to the Internationalization of Political Education: A Ten-Year-Perspective"

Prof. Marshall W. Conley, Ph.D.
Dept. of Political Science
Acadia University
Wolfville, Nova Scotia B0P 1X0
Canada

Henk Dekker, University of Groningen, "International Learning by an Organized Study Abroad Programme"

Prof. Dr. Henk Dekker
Institute of Social Studies
University of Groningen
Grote Markt 23
NL-9712 HR Groningen
The Netherlands

Hans Hooghoff, National Institute for Curriculum Development (Enschede), "The International Aspect of Political Education in the Netherlands"

Dr. Hans Hooghoff
National Institute for
Curriculum Development
Beltstraat 44
NL-7511 JW Enschede
The Netherlands

Second Session: Comparative Political Education Research: Aspects of Cross Cultural Studies

Chairwoman: Suna Kili, Bogazici University (Istanbul)

Prof. Dr. Suna Kili
Dept. of Public Administration
Bogazici University
P.K.2 80815 Bebek
Istanbul
Turkey

Artur Bodnar/Ryszard Zelichowski, Centralny Ośrodek Metodyczny Studiów Nauk Politycznych (Warsaw), "Polish Youth: Dychotomic World of Values"

Prof. Dr. Artur Bodnar/Dr. Ryszard Zelichowski
Centralny Ośrodek Metodyczny
Studiów Nauk Politycznych
ul. Dobra 56
PL-00-312 Warszawa
Poland

Hendrik J. Kotzé, University of Stellenbosch, "The Political Education of South African University Students"

Prof. Hendrik J. Kotzé, B.A., M.A.
Dept. of Political Science
University of Stellenbosch
Stellenbosch 7600
South Africa

Máté Szabó, Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest), "The Concepts of Politics: The Schizophrenia of the Political Education and the Political Reality in Hungary"

Dr. Máté Szabó
Dept. of Political Science
Eötvös Loránd University
Egyetem tér 1-3
H-1364 Budapest
Hungary

Carlos A. Torres, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (Mexico City)/Daniel Schugurensky, Centro Regional de Educacion de Adultos y Alfabetizacion Funcional para America Latina (Michoacan), "Adult Education as Political Education: Lessons from Comparative, Cross-National Research in Latin America and the Caribbean"

Carlos A. Torres, Ph.D./Daniel Schugurensky, B.Ed.
Faculty of Education
University of Alberta
5-109 Education North
Edmonton T6G 2G5
Canada

Bonus Session: Political Education Research as a Topic of Global Political Science

Chairman: Carlos A. Torres, Facultad Lationamericana de Ciencias Sociales (Mexico City)

Carlos A. Torres, Ph.D.
Faculty of Education
University of Alberta
5-109 Education North
Edmonton T6G 2G5
Canada

Gordon Burt, Institute of Educational Technology (Milton Keynes), "Education as Challenge and Emancipation: Perspectives for a Global Political Science"

Gordon Burt
The Open University
Institute of Educational Technology
Walton Hall
Milton Keynes MK7 6AA
Great Britain

Russell F. Farnen, The University of Connecticut (Hartford), "Uses of Systems Theory, Decision Making, and Public Policy Analyses for International Political Education and Socialization Research"

Prof. Russell F. Farnen, Ph.D.
Undergraduate School
The University of Connecticut
85 Lawler Road
West Hartford, CT
USA

Suna Kili, Bogazici University (Istanbul), "Modernity and Tradition: Dilemmas of Political Education in Developing Countries"

Prof. Dr. Suna Kili
Dept. of Public Administration
Bogazici University
P.K.2 80815 Bebek
Istanbul
Turkey

Vijay Laxmi Pandit, University of Delhi, "Political Education Research in India"

Vijay Laxmi Pandit, Ph.D.
Dept. of Political Science
Maitreyi College
University of Delhi
Netaji Nagar
New Delhi - 110023
India

COMING INTERNATIONAL ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE AND CALL FOR PAPERS

The IPSA Research Committee on Political Education and the HSWP Institute of Social Sciences organize an International Round Table Conference on

'Hidden Tendencies and Unintentional Impacts in the Function of (Political) Socialization Agencies'

in Budapest, Hungary, December 10th, - 15th, 1988.

The organizers have the intention - giving priority to political sociological and social psychological approaches to the questions concerned - to enforce the following aspects: political culture, national identity, tradition and innovation, generational relations (conflict and harmony), alternative social movements.

Those, who wish to participate in the meeting, are requested to inform the Hungarian organizer

Institute of Social Sciences
Benczur u. 33
H-1068 Budapest
Hungary

about their intention and please, enclose a short summary of their paper, not later than by

August 1st, 1988.

The organizers will take all these for the final programme, about which detailled information will be sent to the guests.

Considering that unfortunately the number of guests can only be limited, the organizers are obliged to select whom to invite, depending on the recommended topics and the number of applicants.

The organizers promise to send the invitations not later than by October 1st, 1988.

The organizers are obliged to fix a participation fee of US Dollars 150 (i.e. US Dollars 25 per day), that includes board and lodging (accomodation in double rooms with bathroom and meals three times a day) in the guest house of HSWP Political School (Abonyi u. 10, H-1146 Budapest, Hungary), at the spot of the conference, free time programme, as well as, all papers and materials concerning the conference. The Hungarian organizers are pleased to send information about Budapest hotels and other facilities to those, who themselves mean to manage their board an lodging of own, and to reserve rooms in such a way, respectively.

In case if some guest cannot finance the participation, the organizers make efforts to disregard the participation fee partly or completely, providing that the financial conditions of the conference make it possible.

The organizers would be delighted to meet the members of the IPSA RCPE and other experts at the subject of the International Round Table Conference in Budapest.

Book Corner

Reviews

Gerd Steffens, Der neue Irrationalismus in der Bildungspolitik. Zur pädagogischen Gegenreform am Beispiel der Hessischen Rahmenrichtlinien, Frankfurt/Main - New York: Campus 1987
by *Birgit Wellie*

Anybody who wants to inform himself about the West German social studies curriculum can well do so by reading the research investigated by Gerd Steffens. Referring to the Hessian social studies curriculum (Rahmenrichtlinien Gesellschaftslehre, which consits of history, geography and political education) the author eludicates in detail for what reasonand in which manner the principle of reason was more and more excavated and finally abolished during the procedure of constructing, founding and revising the curriculum from 1972 to 1982. The considerable differences between the oldest (1972) and the latest (1982) version, however, cannot be explained in a simplifying economic way, for instance as a direct reaction to the depression from 1974/74 on. Within the scope of official state-interventions, resulting in a pragmatically shortened mastering of the crisis without trying to upset the foundations of the economic system, a fatal mixture if not a multiplication of several decisions and measures finds its way into the development of the curriculum. With the 'help' of those interventions, of the practice of the Supreme Court of Constitution (Bundesverfassungsgericht), of party-political and public controversies and last, but not least of power-political calculations of the SPD (at that time still in office in Hessen) a primarily pedagogic-didactic field - that of the deposition of aims, contents and methods of school-learning - was transformed into a merely juridically and constitutionally discussed problem. By 1982 education at school no longer aims at a citizen who is capable of criticizing and acting and who legally avails himself of his constitutionally guaranteed basic rights. On the contrary, now it intends to generate a type of person who acts loyally and who acknowleges the 'range of values' (Werteordnung) which ostensibly precedes the constitution as the Supreme Court of Constitution decided in fundamental judgements. Furthermore the 'new' citizen is expected to submit to his 'fate' obediently - abandoning reason, but living within the bounds of the 'minimum consensus of basic values'. Especially threatening is the knowledge of this development not only being a pedagogic conter-reform within one federal state of the Federal Republic of Germany - similar tendencies can be ascertained at nearly all other federal states -, but that "by the Supreme Court of Constitution itself 'basic values' have just been shifted into the position of a super-constitutional centre of legitimation of state- and social acting" (p. 155; translation by B.W.). As this "constitutional enthronement of values and range of values" (op. cit.) is not founded of reason but nevertheless claims absolu-

te validity, it comes close to a new myth that indeed can no longer satisfy in our secularized world. This may explain the militancy of the essent to the minimum-consensus of values, an exact definition of which can nowhere be found, is demanded with. All in all Steffen's work is a remarkable book which is qualified to open your eyes at a time when public authorities exactly demand the opposite.

Barbara Huygen, Der Gesellschafts-Charakter. Eine Herausforderung für die Pädagogik - Untersuchungen der 'Analytischen Sozialpsychologie' Erichs Fromms, Essen: Die Blaue Eule 1987
by *Karlheinz Filipp*

The author's focus is Erich Fromm, his life (1900 - 1980) in a broken world which, nevertheless, could not disturb a fundamental sense of radical humanity. Fromm always longed for human values though or just because he was a Jewish refugee from Nazi-Germany. He was a member of the famous Frankfurt School of Sociology and Critical Theory and combined Freudian and Marxist elements with regard to a better future.

The starting point of Barbara Huygen's study is philosophy of the ego, is curriculum vitae which she analyses according to Fromm's agenda: research of individual character within collectivism. This framework preserves coherence and gives an idea of the character of society, of its aggression and ethics. Curriculum vitae, thus, involves curriculum societatis with general elements and measures of common behavior, virtue, obedience and love.

Based on analytic social psychology Huygen takes care of educational patterns. Her guidance and leading ideas are emancipation, human dignity and human rights. In this context she mentions 'genuine occidental culture' as a goal to be achieved. This eleborated keynote gives a touch of curriculum mundi.

According to Huygen's self-assessment the background of the studies is 'conservative'. From the radical sense of conservation this point is quite right and sticks up for the theoretical line. For Huygen goes back - by all means of an adequate analysis - to the roots of human dignity which she wants to conserve.

According to the actual mainstreem of West German educational policy Huygen's studies are settled amidst a conflicting area. They reveal the ideology of national classics, of old 'pure pedagogics' which got and recently still get a strong reactionary promotion. Huygen's book should become one of the trendsetters against it.

The book has a good tradition of cognitive wisdom on its side and, moreover, involves sensitivity of emotional wisdom against human suffering. As a book against the educational establishment it deserves many readers. Unfortunately most of the West German teachers are inhibited readers. They got the

feeling of being members of the establishment themselves. What a pity!

New Books

- László Kéri (ed.), A politikai szocializáció elméleti kérdései, Budapest: MSZMP KB Társadalomtudományi Intézete 1987
- Karlheinz Filipp, Kritische Didaktik der Geographie. Prolegomena zur Emanzipation einer Disziplin, Frankfurt/Main: Haag und Herchen 1987
- Bernhard Claussen, Didaktik und Sozialwissenschaften. Beiträge zur Politischen Bildung, Aachen: Hahner - Braunschweig: Westermann 1987

Membership Topics

Alterations to the Directory of RCPE Members and of Persons Interested in the RCPE
by *Bernhard Claussen*

a) Rectifications

Paul Ackermann, Pfullinger Steige 13, D-7410 Reutlingen 2, F.R.G.

Hans-Günther Assel, Haus 70, D-8834 Pappenheim-Göhren, F.R.G.

Fritz Marz, Raiffeisenstraße 29, D-6740 Landau 22

Russell F. Farnen, Undergraduate School, The University of Connecticut, 85 Lawler Road, West Hartford, CT, USA

Herbert Dachs, Maria-Lebotari-Strasse 35, A-5020 Salzburg

Carlos A. Torres, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, 5-109 Education North, Edmonton T6G 2G5, Canada

b) New Entries

Siegfried Jenkner, Wiesenstrasse 2, D-3000 Hannover 1, F.R.G.

Heike Ackermann, Dept. of Educational Policy, University of the Federal Armed Forces, Holstenhofweg 84, D-2000 Hamburg 70, F.R.G.

Michael Bau, Mozartstrasse 48, D-5600 Wuppertal 1, F.R.G.

Adolf Noll, An der Stauwiese 1, D-3162 Uetze, F.R.G.

Kurt G. Beyer, Dept. of Political Science, University of Essen, Universitätsstrasse 2, D-4300 Essen 1, F.R.G.

Klaus-Peter Hufer, Hessenring 1, D-4152 Kempen 1

Wilhelm Frenz, Dept. of Social Studies, University of Kassel, Nora-Platiel-Strasse 1, D-3500 Kassel, F.R.G.

Birgit Wellie, Bundesstrasse 35, D-2000 Hamburg 13, F.R.G.

Stephan von Bandemer, Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft, Allende-Platz 1, D-2000 Hamburg 13, F.R.G.

Tilman Grammes, Dept. of Political Science, Free University of Berlin, Ihnestrasse 21, 1000 Berlin 33, West Berlin

Lothar Lühmann, Vor dem Glumm, D-2720 Rotenburg, F.R.G.

Herbert Schneider, Pädagogische Hochschule, Keplerstrasse 87, D-6900 Heidelberg, F.R.G.

Bernhard Sutor, Dept. of Social Studies, Catholic University, Ostenstrasse 26, D-8078 Eichstätt, F.R.G.

Herbert Knepper, Ruhrstraße 43, D-4006 Erkrath, F.R.G.

Franz-Josef Witsch-Rothmund, Im Pühlchen 1a, D-5400 Koblenz, F.R.G.

Volkmar Weinhold, Schulstrasse 14, 8567 Neunkirchen, F.R.G.

Christine Kulke, Prinz-Handjery-Strasse 11a, 1000 Berlin 37, West Berlin

Siegfried Schiele, Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, Stafflenbergstrasse 38, D-7000 Stuttgart 1

Ulrich Rauter, Kölner Strasse 47, D-4100 Duisburg, F.R.G.

Thomas Ruffmann, Antoniushof 15, D-4193 Kranenburg, F.R.G.

Axel Schulte, Blumenhagenstrasse 11, D-3000 Hannover 1, F.R.G.

Dieter Grosser, Geschwister-Scholl-Institut, Schellingstrasse 5/III, D-8000 München 40, F.R.G.

Gotthard Breit, Gerstäckerstrasse 13, D-3300 Braunschweig, F.R.G.

Herbert Uhl, Burgunderstrasse 14, D-7842 Kadern-Riedlingen, F.R.G.

Hanne Birckenbach, Institut für Friedensforschung, Falkenstein 1, D-2000 Hamburg 55, F.R.G.

Wolfgang Sander, An der Mühlwiese 4, D-6320 Aslfeld-Altenberg, F.R.G.

Helmut Bieber, Pösgesweg 6, D-4100 Duisburg, F.R.G.

Bernward Bickmann, Franziskanisches Bildungswerk, Niederwaldstrasse 1, D-6451 Grosskrotzenburg, F.R.G.

Heinz Sünker, Rudowerstrasse 31, D-4800 Bielefeld, F.R.G.

Jenö Andics, Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt, Politikai Föiskola, Ajtosi Dürer Sor 19-21, H-1146 Budapest, Hungary

Kálmán Kulcsár, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Roosevelt tér 9, H-Budapest, Hungary

Máté Szabó, ELTE Allam es Jogtudomany, Kar Politologiai Csoport, Egyetem tér 1-3, H-1363 Budapest, Hungary

Gordon Burt, The Open University, Institute of Educational Technology, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes MK7 6AA, Great Britain

Walter Bender, Dept. of Adult Education, University of the Federal Armed Forces, Holstenhofweg 85, D-2000 Hamburg 70, F.R.G.

Hans Hooghoff, National Institute for Curriculum Development, Beltstraat 44, NL-7511 JW Enschede, The Netherlands

Henk Dekker, Institute of Social Studies, University of Groningen, NL-9712 HR Groningen, The Netherlands

Richard G. Niemi, Dept. of Political Science, PSCl at Vorum, The University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y. 14627, USA

Dietmar Waterkamp, Drosselstrasse 8, D-5805 Breckerfeld, F.R.G.

Robert Stradling, 10 Thorndon Park Close, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex SS9 4RH, Great Britain

Ralf Rytlewski, Kösenerstrasse 11, 1000 Berlin 33, West Berlin

John Boiney, 1318 Valley Run, Durham, NC 27707, USA

Wilma Vollebergh, Dept. of Youth Studies, University of Utrecht, Heidelberglaan 2, NL-3584 CS Utrecht, The Netherlands

Rüdiger Meyenberg, Berberitzweg 10a, D-2903 Bad Zwischenahn, F.R.G.

Friedrich Kuebart, Plasshoffstrasse 21, D-4630 Bochum 1,F.R.G.

László Kéri, Institute of Social Sciences, Benczur u. 33, H-1068 Budapest, Hungary

Andreas Maislinger, Institute of Political Science, University of Innsbruck, Innrain 52, A-6020 Innsbruck, Austria

Olof Ruin, Bergstigen 29, S-18274 Stocksvnd, Sweden

Johannes Hampel, Dept. of Social Studies, University of Augsburg, Universitätsstrasse 10, D-8900 Augsburg, F.R.G.

Klaus Helf, Heinrich-Böcking-Strasse 15, D-6600 Saarbrücken, F.R.G.

Patrik Baab, Heinrich-Säcking-Strasse 15, D-6600 Saarbrücken, F.R.G.

Veronika Grabe, Jagstweg 9, D-4300 Essen 18, F.R.G.

Angelika Bott, Liegnitzer Strasse 7, D-6415 Petersberg 1, F.R.G.

Birgit Sauer, Dept. of Political Science, Free University of Berlin, Ihnestrasse 22, 1000 Berlin 33, West Berlin

Wolfgang Geiger, Schwendenerstrasse 32a, 1000 Berlin 33, West Berlin

Hans-Werner Kuhn, Kolberger Strasse 8, 1000 Berlin 65, West Berlin

Jürgen Heinen-Tenrich, Landesverband der Volkshochschulen Niedersachsens, Bödekerstrasse 16, D-3000 Hannover, F.R.G.

Ernst-August Roloff, Dept. of Political Science, University of Göttingen, Nikolausberger Weg 5c, D-3400 Göttingen, F.R.G.

Ernst Vogt, Am Sande 26, D-2863 Ritterhude, F.R.G.

JY Ra, The Graduate School, Kyung Hee University, 1 Hoe Gi-Dong, Dong Dae Mun-Gu, Seoul 13, Korea

Next Meeting of RCPE Members and the RCPE Executive Board

Since many official and inofficial members of the RCPE have already declared that they will not participate in Washington, the entire Executive Board will, in all probability, not convene until the Budapest International Round Table Conference (Budapest, Hungary, December 1988). Consequently, an official meeting is not scheduled in Washington. Naturally this does not preclude informal contacts and an exchange of information.

You are officially invited to attend

(a) a meeting of the Executive Board during the International Round Table Conference on 'Hidden Tendencies and Unintentional Impacts of (Political) Socialization Agencies' (Budapest, Hungary, December 10th, - 15th, 1988). Items of the agenda will be inter alia: reorganisation made necessary by membership fluctuation, future meetings and publications, initial discussions on the question of membership status and the funding RCPE services.

(b) a meeting of RCPE members and friends during the same International Round Table Conference in Budapest. Items on the agenda will be inter alia: information about the work of the Executive Board, disussions about questions of participation, general organisational problems, future meetings and publications.

The Budapest conference will not only be of academic significance!

Those of you who will be unable to attend the Budapest conference are urged to submit any wishes and proposals in writing to the Chairman in good time; the members of the Executive Board, in particular, are requested to clearly state whether they are willing to hold an Executive Board function or not.

If you are keen to receive the next issues of the 'RCPE Bulletin', kindly remit the amount of DM 10.— (ten Deutschmarks) by cheque, International Money Postal Order or in cash to the Editor's address!!